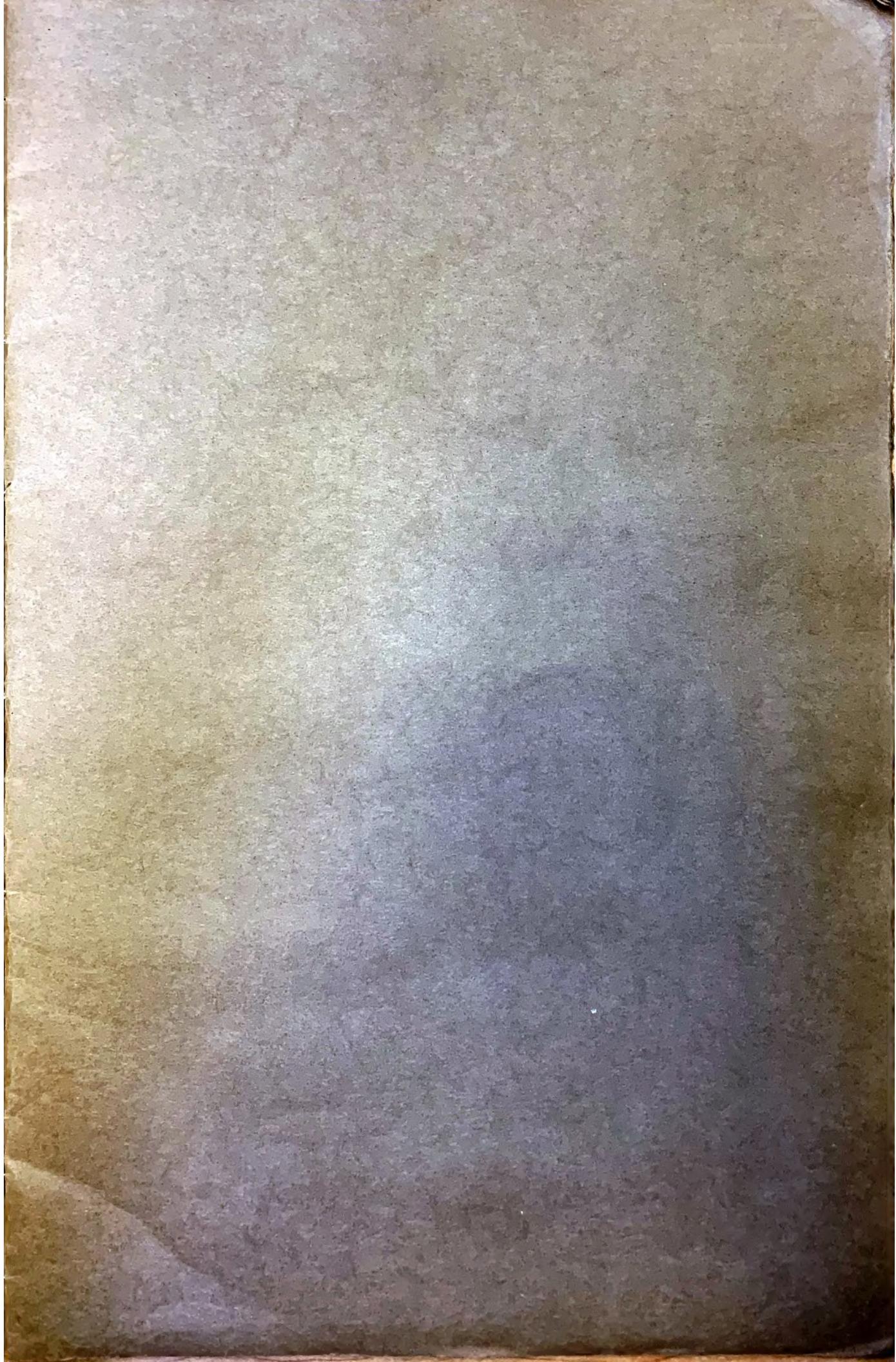


BIDDEFORD SCRAP Book

No. 3

1880-1891



# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Jan. 8, 1904

The Memorable Election of 1888  
When Vote Sellers Reaped the  
Biggest Harvest Ever  
Known In Any City.

## Broader Record Jan. 7, 1904 MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Democrats Come Into Power-Harmon's Debut in Politics-His Crusade Against Rumsellers-The Repeater Scandal.

(Continued From January 8.)

In 1888, after a lively campaign, the Democrats captured the city, electing Hon. Edward W. Staples mayor by 197 majority. One of his first acts was to increase the police force and to appoint Charles B. Harmon city marshal.

This marks the entry of Mr. Harmon into politics. He had previously taken no more interest in affairs political than the average citizen. It was understood that he was picked for the place to close up the numerous rum shops and it was for this same reason that the number of the police force was increased, Mayor Staples remarking in his inaugural that he proposed to have a police force large enough to enforce all the laws every day in the week.

Harmon For Enforcement.

City Marshal Harmon made such a record in his fight against sellers as no officer in the State ever made, than even Sheriff Pearson. He gave more than no rest by night or by day. He not only raided the saloons but banished the depots and followed up the express companies and truck drivers.

This was Harmon, the Democratic city marshal, holding his office by virtue of appointment by the mayor.

How different from Harmon, the Republican city marshal, holding his office by virtue of the state appointed police commission.

But he had his troubles. In the Maine Sentinel of the issues between the going out of power of the Republicans and the year 1888, which period is only to be covered in a general way, was the famous repeater scandal and it was a big one. Maine Republicans were then political scoundrels.

The Record does not propose to review this scandal, at length, for it

was preliminary only to a lot of other political crookedness for which the same influences were responsible.

With the exception of that, City Marshal Harmon had rapidly developed into a politician. He kept on

developing and has kept on developing and nobody attempts to forecast

what Harmon will develop tomorrow.

Harmon to date, so far as the departing sheriff is concerned, but it is incomprehensible at this date that police under Harmon's direction were ever engaged in raiding rumshops.

But in a few weeks Harmon had

begun to dry up all work of this kind, it will be possible to make it.

To read in the papers of that date of his strenuous work is to create con-

tempt for the pitiful blaff that the departing have put up in the last year.

Harmon's apparently defenseless and this kind of work at that time and The Record does not believe that his

worst enemy will dispute the assertion

that he enforced the law with more vigor and more impartiality than was ever enforced in Biddeford, before or since.

Harmon's vigorous work and its

conspicuous results even called forth

praises from the churches and Good

Templars lodges.

Does it seem inconceivable? It is

inconceivable in matter of history.

And in other respects Harmon made

a good city marshal, falling into a

ways of the politician and becoming a

valuable man to his party.

Democratic Administrations.

The Democrats continued in power.

Their rule between Mayor Staples' first election and 1888 was continued

only by hard fights, but they had en-

croached themselves so that Biddeford

was referred to as "the rock-ribbed

Gibraltar of Maine Democracy. That

is a forcible expression of the War

Eagle's, since political decreased,

when he was a shining light of the

party.

The establishment of the city liquor agency by the Democrats raised quite

a howl, but it proved a good political

issue to the Republicans, who have

more, since thereafter there

was no necessity for anybody suffer-

ing for liquor for "medicinal and

mechanical purposes." Moreover the

city's treasury profited some from the

agency, though Republicans made all

accusations against its man-

agement.

Then the Democratic administra-

tions made extensive improvements,

particularly in the street department.

The Democrats pointed with pride to

these improvements. They called it

"paved." Republicans cried

"paved," "planned," "improved."

A review of the files of the Journal

and Times would show columns upon

columns of the strongest assault upon

the so called "paving steel" and the

iniquitous city liquor agency. The

Democrats restored in the same kind, with charges of the most outrageous, placing most of the city under the thumb of the liquor men, with nothing to show for it. One illustration: Saco sent Hon. Ira H. Foss to Augusta to look after the city's interests. His bill for services was \$35. Biddeford sent one of its best men to the administration, as a commission of three to Augusta which did the same service, and for this service they drew \$300 from the city treasury.

Strange Bedfellows.

This is all a matter of history. Whether there was foundation for the charges against one side or the other, or not is not for The Record to say. The Republicans, however, gave their full attention to the fact, however, that the two sides were denouncing each other as thieves, who defiled the laws of libel and exhausted vituperation, are at present harried and serving side by side in the Citizen movement, instigated only by patriotic interest in the city's welfare.

Politics make strange bedfellows.

It is an axiom that will appear over and over again as this review continues.

The Repeater Scandal.

The chief event of this latest between the going out of power of the Republicans and the year 1888, which period is only to be covered in a general way, was the famous repeater scandal and it was a big one. Maine Republicans were then political scoundrels.

The Record does not propose to review this scandal, at length, for it

was preliminary only to a lot of other political crookedness for which the same influences were responsible.

With the exception of that, City Marshal Harmon had rapidly developed

into a politician. He kept on

developing and has kept on developing and nobody attempts to forecast

what Harmon will develop tomorrow.

Harmon was made the scapegoat of

the repeater episode, rightfully or

wrongfully. The Record never heard

it seriously claimed by anybody that

Harmon or somebody else was responsible,

the fact that the Democratic party had no more need of the services of these imported repeaters

than it had a few years ago. The election

result was a foregone conclusion.

The Democrats had votes to lead the Republicans. It was just a needless,

amateurish bit of political trickery

which put the Democratic party in a

hole and subjected its leaders to

the deepest suspicion and devaluation.

See how that article in the Journal and Times, in proof of this.

If Harmon was accused of anything

of the kind at this date, and the evi-

dence against him was as strong as it

was then, it would simply be styled

the last of the day as "another of Harmon's little file."

Passing over the repeater scandal

with these comments, with the additional

statement that it cost the Democ-

rats a good deal of money and

a good deal of uneasiness, we will

cover the period between 1888 and

1893 briefly, cover and enter upon

the history of the last 15 years more in detail.

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(Continued From January 7.)

The Republicans had become to be pretty well disengaged by their vain efforts to win back the control of the city. They had tried various candidates and made all sorts of issues but the Democratic organization was strong and the rank and file of the people seemed to be well satisfied with Democratic rule. At least this was the natural inference from the steady repetition of Democratic ma-

ritories.

In the meantime the Democrats had secured control of the national administration and of course tended to strengthen the party locally.

Charles H. Harmon had graduated from city marshal to United States marshal and had become to be a less popular figure. In 1888 he was accused of being a scoundrel, was accused of being a scoundrel and of being a scoundrel.

In the winter of 1888 he also saw the end of the Democratic daily, the Standard.

The Democrats had been under the continual bombardment of the two Republican dailies, the Times and the Journal, both of which were at that time vigorously active, while the weekly Sentinel was the only organ the Democrats had had.

So the Democrats were in pretty

shape all around for the big spring fight which was to prospect.

Kendall Beaten in Canons.

Two Republican mayoralty candidates and two Republican factions were in sight a month in advance of election. Col. Kendall, then Captain of the 11th Inf., had a strong popular following, was put forward by his friends, but there was another faction which opposed him, a faction which has always since opposed him. Goodwin, a former member of the 11th Inf., was also a popular following.

The opposition to Col. Kendall had become to be pretty well developed before he had been definitely settled whom to run in the canons in opposition. Goodwin, of Littlefield, was finally agreed upon, and there was the liveliest kind of canvass to get votes out to the canons.

And it was a lively canvass, with Goodwin, with other supporters of Mr. Littlefield, who took the Kendall supporters and Mr. Littlefield was nominated. The Kendall people took their medicine and fell in to work for the success of the ticket.

Great Times for Boulders.

There was no question but that the Republicans were out for a fight that year, and that meant to those who were that there would be no lack of money.

The sellers were in consequence in a state of happy anticipation for a week before election. They did not wait until election day to demand money for their political assistance but they did it even before candidates they could not yet name could be nominated. Some of the quartet, particularly one on the Republican ticket, had an amateurish idea that the good will of these voters was to be secured by liberally handing out quarters and halves and dollars in cash, and this came to a realization of the value of "personal popularity" with the frontiers.

The Two Tickets.

The Democratic mayoralty candidate was Hon. Charles E. Goodwin and he had the full support of his party. His election having been one of the most memorable in the city's history it will be while to while the aldermanic candidates for that year also.

The Democratic candidates for aldermen were: Ward 1, Marshal E. Curtis; Ward 2, Michael Leonard; Ward 3, Alfred L. Wardwell; Ward 4, Nathaniel B. Walker; Ward 5, Nahum S. Drown; Ward 6, Jean E. Park; Ward 7, John H. Barnham.

The Republican aldermanic candidates were: Geo. F. Piper, Michael Hussey, Albert G. Laut, L. Pitt Atwood, V. V. Tracy, W. H. Sprague, William P. McMillan, and L. Ricker.

Both parties were agreed that they had named strong tickets. The nominations for councilman compared very well with the aldermanic nominations. The canons were on both sides were enthusiastic and it is doubtful if they were ever in as good fighting trim as they were then, everything considered.

The French Vote Then.

Much is heard in these days about the French vote. It may be of interest to note that in 1888, after a dozen years subsequently the French vote was almost solidly Democratic. You could count on the ends of fingers all the French voters who claimed to be Republicans. All The Record can recall at this time of the voters of this nationality who lined up with the Republicans in those canons were: S. B. Russell, John B. Morris, Adolph Ritter, Joseph Chamberlain, Peter Martin, Louise Dubois and Joseph F. Quarier.

The others of this nationality were as loud shouters for Democracy in those years as they have been of late

years for the Republican-Citizen-Industrial League combination. Many of them sported special police badges and quite a number of them even registered their names.

They had the street jobs. They were in the fire department, they were well looked after, a good deal better looked after than they have ever been since their grandfathers except that rumselling privilege was not among the rewards dealt out in those days.

An Auction Sale.

The battle of boulds began on the stroke of the clock at 8 Monday morning.

Both sides had workers by the score in every ward and both fought and boughed for the whole ticket.

The early offers of \$5 and \$10 for votes were soon up to \$15 and \$20, and then \$25 and \$30, and so on.

It may be stated here that men sold their votes that day who had never sold them before. The price were finally

as high as \$500 paid for votes.

Both sides had got to have the sellers, if they did come high. It was not a question whose barrel would last longest. Some sellers offered like horse traders, going from one side to the other and raising the price.

In Ward 1 for the vote of himself and two sons, one man, it is but fair to say that he was a Yankee, received \$10.

It is not believed that in any city in this country such prices were ever paid for votes as were paid commonly in Biddeford in the spring election of 1888.

The Republicans fought gamely until noon and then they threw up their hands. They had gone past their limit on the boulds question and the Democrats seemed to have no limit.

The Republicans who had still held out, finally had to take small prices for their votes.

Before the polls closed the memorable election day blizzard had set in.

A few hours later the snow was over a foot deep. But the snow day was no heavier than the hearts of the Republicans.

The count of the votes showed that Goodwin had received 1300 votes and Littlefield 1112, which was the heaviest by considerable ever cast in this city.

The Democrats carried wards 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

## INDIGNANT DENIAL.

A. W. Pierce Declares He Will Not Sing at League Minstrel Show.

Albert W. Pierce, who has been proclaimed at meetings of the infamous Industrial League as a member of the quartet which is to sing at the minstrel show to be given in connection with the league's big fair in National hall, and who, the Journal, the official organ of the league, recently stated officially was a member of the quartet, is not to sing in the league's minstrel show. Two or three days ago, as intimated in The Record Mr. Pierce denied that he was a member of the quartet, and he stated that he had no intention of singing in the minstrel show, nor that evening the Journal, the official organ of the league, printed the following:

A. W. Pierce wishes the Journal to state that he has not been invited to sing at the minstrel show in connection with the Industrial fair and should not if it had been invited.

The Record will do its best to announce the names of the members of the league quartet. It gave them on Wednesday of last week and they were furnished The Record by its representative and other members of the league. At the league's meeting on Tuesday night, when it was publicly proclaimed, as The Record was told, that the league quartet for the minstrel show would be composed of Newland M. Philbrick, Albert W. Pierce, John H. Durgin and Alfred Bouman and these, with Edwin M. Cotton, would be the six voices.

Whether any person had authority to make this announcement at the league meeting The Record does not know. It only knows that such an announcement was made and it was repeated by members of the league to a Record reporter the next day.

The Record, on the evening last, the Journal, the official organ of the league, officially announced that these gentlemen would compose the quartet and sole liste, and that seemed to settle the thing until Mr. Pierce came out with his indignant denial that he was a member of the quartet and the statement that he would not sing at the minstrel show even if he were naked to do so.

Other members of the announced quartet are said to deny that they will sing in the minstrel show, and it seems to be up to the Journal, the official organ of the league, to make further explanations.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

The Election of 1889-How the Republicans Might Have Used a Small Boodle Profitably.

Fred A. Tarbox Appointed City Marshal.

Jan 9-1904

(Continued From January 8)

The victory of 1888 was celebrated in the usual style for those days with a rossing, whooping rally in City hall, the band within, frenes without and the hottest kind of talk from the stage.

There were great jollification meetings which Biddeford's victorious Democracy used to hold in those days. What a noisy, whooping crowd it was! Where are they now? Some of them, many of them who were the loudest shouters then are now shouters under Harmon's Industrial League banner.

The writer noticed in reading the account of this jollification meeting following the election of 1888 that the principal speakers were the War Eagle and Hon. B. F. Chadbourn. The War Eagle made reference to the victory as one that had been secured "without money and without price," and the crowd went wild, though probably two thirds of those present still had the cash equivalent of their votes in their pockets. Mr. Chadbourn spoke of the lofty purposes and principles of the Democracy which had been so triumphantly vindicated that day.

That was in 1888.

In 1904 we look out of the window and see the War Eagle and Harmon talking with every indication of close comradeship and sympathy and are reminded that Hon. B. F. Chadbourn is to deliver an address at Harmon's Industrial League's fair.

Haven't strange bedfellows been made in Biddeford's politics in the last 15 years?

And to think that the very files of the Standard upon which the writer relies to refresh his memory of these stirring political events were edited by Col. F. W. Roberts, now one of Harmon's benchmen.

When you think of these shifts and turnovers do you blame the ordinary, disinterested voter who had nothing to lose or gain no matter how election went, who yielded to the pressure of that day when the air was full of boodle and exchanged his vote for more cash than he could earn at hard labor in two months?

A Quiet Year.

The year 1889, after the spring election, was rather quiet politically, notwithstanding it was the year for national and state election.

The county and state elections resulted in a tie as usual and at the national election the Democrats were defeated and before another spring had come around there were renewed rumors of United States Marshal Harmon's lukewarmness toward the Democracy, locally and nationally.

It was not understood at that time as Harmon has since frequently explained, that his lukewarmness was due to the fact that he had suddenly discovered that he had never at heart believed in the Democratic doctrine of free trade, but had always had strong inward convictions that protection was the proper policy. Some have scoffed at Harmon's explanation of his political shift, but those who will frankly consider his course since he became a Republican leader will find in his policy toward the Biddeford rum syndicate and the Industrial League that, as he claims, he is a protectionist at heart.

A One Sided Election.

The campaign preceding the election of 1889 was not particularly lively. The Republicans had but little heart after the defeat of the previous spring, yet some of them wanted to make another fight and there was enough talk to this effect to encourage the sellers. They had strong hopes that the Republicans would rally and that a remnant of the fancy prices of the preceding spring would be the result.

But the Republicans did not have the heart. The shouters were enthusiastic enough but the men who had furnished shives of war for the former fight, who were still on with no prospect that they would be taken care of, as anticipated by assessments on city officials, were not at all inclined to another plunge.

Still there were various meetings and councils at the York club. Some wanted to "raise a pot" and some did not, and as a matter of fact it was not decided until after midnight, Sunday

night whether there was to be another boodle battle or not. It was finally decided that there should not be.

There were some interesting masters in connection with this eleventh hour session at the York club, they are personal matters, relating to efforts to raise money, accusations and intimations to what had become of money that had been raised, one time and another, etc.

Ward 2 Reform Club.

There was deep disappointment among the sellers when it was learned that the Republicans were not to make a boodle fight.

Down in ward 2 the Republicans had a chance to do effective business with a little money. Ward 2 had always been the banner Democratic ward, but this year there was deep discontent. Too much attention had been paid to ward 7 and too little to ward 2. Some of the disgruntled had been sovring seeds of discontent and the result was the organization of the "Ward 2 Reform Club," so called.

An old hall, barrel of furniture except a few benches and chairs had been made headquarters for the club, but the real headquarters were at Mogan's barbershop in "the yard," Capt. James Mogan of the present police being the proprietor. Here the gang met and "chewed" and the Ward 2 Reform Club was all the talk for a few days before election.

On the morning of election the writer saw about 80 members of the "Reform Club" stowed away in the old hall of the building which has since given place to the new block owned by John F. Maxwell. The most of those present were waiting to see what the day would develop in the way of boodle inducements. It was claimed that there were 80 votes which could be had for \$5 each, Republican money. Cheap enough, certainly, in comparison with the prices paid the year before. Then this bunch would have cost \$4000 instead of \$400, which would have landed it for the Republicans ticket.

Boodle Not In Sight.

In other wards in the city there was the same herding of sellers waiting for the price to go up. The Democrats having no opposition in the way of boodle had only been offering \$2 and \$3, an insult to the sellers, after their experience of the year before.

In ward 4, 60 voters were gathered in a room and held there until as late as 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Two hundred dollars would have landed this bunch for the Republican ticket. In ward 5, in a room just above where the present police station now is, there were 80 more, hanging out for \$5 a head. It was about the same in the other wards and after noon a council of leaders was again held at the York club and there was strong talk of raising a boodle, gathering all these sellers in at a swoop and thus carrying the city. But the nerve and money were lacking. A little later the sellers broke loose and got what they could in Democratic money, which was not much, \$2 or \$3 apiece, a sorry amount compared to the prices of 1888.

There had been no caucus contests this year. Mayor Goodwin was the unanimous choice of the Democrats and Dr. John Lord of the Republicans.

Mayor Goodwin's majority was 200, yet there were Republicans who claimed that had they raised a moderate boodle and jumped into the fight early in the afternoon they could have won.

But they did not.

One of the most important results of this election, as will be seen later on, was the appointment by Mayor Goodwin of Fred A. Tarbox as city marshal. The appointee had been quite active in politics and had made something of a record as a ward constable. A radical reorganization of the police force resulted, it having been common rumor for some time that under the easy going administrations of City Marshals B. F. Chadbourn (who is to be chief speaker at the coming Industrial League fair) and John E. Banks, some of the old police officers were devoting much more time by night to poker and feminine friends than to looking after their beats.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Today's Installment Relates More Particularly to the Police Department While Fred A Tarbox Was at the Head of It.

Jan 11-1904

(Continued From January 9)

On the whole probably Biddeford never had a more stirring and eventful year politically than the year 1890, but today's installment does not deal particularly with that one year.

There was not much doing outwardly in the course of the year 1889, but there was a good deal of Republican scheming going on and if the Democrats did less scheming it was simply because their prospects were more safely assured than the prospects of their opponents.

City Marshal Tarbox.

City Marshal Tarbox had proven a great success. The police department, under his administration, was admirably managed, from a Democratic standpoint, and it was soon realized that Mayor Goodwin and his advisers had made an excellent selection in his appointment. The Tarbox police force was unquestionably a Democratic power, but at the same time there was never a time in the first year of his administration, or for that matter in any succeeding year, when any man of the opposition party was not sure of just and courteous treatment when he had any occasion to do business with the head of the force.

Tarbox played the game of politics for all it was worth, all right, that was what the head of the police department was supposed to do in those days, for mind you, this was before the era of a state appointed, "non partisan" police force, but he played the game with tact, instead of brutalizing men to support him. Three hundred days out of the year he was on as friendly terms with Republicans as with Democrats. The remaining 60 days were campaign days, when he was too active politically to make Republican friends. The great difference between City Marshal Tarbox and Chief of Police Harmon was that with a police force made up of the ordinary character, he was only politically offensive in the heat of campaign time, while Harmon is politically offensive every day in the year.

The one used tact, the other the club.

As for ability, in the ordinary and legitimate requirements of the office of city marshal, the writer expresses the belief without prejudice, unmeant of political connection or significance, that Fred A. Tarbox was the keenest, nerviest, best equipped man for the office that Biddeford ever had or probably ever will have. In support of this judgment it ought to be sufficient to point to his record, since he was adjudged unfit to remain as the head of the Biddeford police department, made a chief of police of Fitchburg and Newton. It is the same old Tarbox. He has borrowed little from metropolitan associations. He has simply carried the methods which made his administration a success in Biddeford into these Massachusetts towns where police ability and not political ability is required.

A Vital Question.

This police question is of vital importance to Biddeford. It is the whole key to the present political situation and this should be kept in mind by those who are following this review of local politics, who might think that undue space was being devoted to a tribute to Former City Marshal Tarbox. It is not in the nature of a personal tribute, actuated by friendship, that so much space is devoted to the merits and abilities of Former Marshal Tarbox, but it is for the purpose of showing how outrageous and uncalled for was the action by which he was deposed and supplanted by Charles B. Harmon and the state police commission.

In an earlier article due praise and credit were given to City Marshal Harmon. It is but right that Former City Marshal Tarbox should be given due credit. It has an important bearing on the present situation. Its importance will be seen later on, if not at the present time, by those who are following this review.

Tarbox's Nerve.

There are lots of rank cowards who only need the badge of the law's authority to transform them into courageous men. Sometimes even that badge of authority is not sufficient to instill courage. The reader's attention is called in advance to the events of the riotous election day of 1890, which will be given later, as illustrating the point that the man is not always worthy of the badge and that the badge does not always breed nerve, or

present policy toward the present police force.

Fred A. Tarbox was the head of Biddeford's police force for four years. In all that time, and stormy political times they were, bitter and hostile as the Journal and Times were, no representative of those papers can say that he was not as fairly and courageously and confidentially treated by Tarbox and his officers as the representatives of the organs of the Democratic, the Standard.

How different from Harmon and his sycophants, stool pigeons, serving under the state appointed police commissioners.

With knowledge of and experience with police administrations and the political history of Biddeford, admitting that the Tarbox administration, like most police administrations, went to extreme lengths in politics, the writer can conceive of a police commission that might not be an evil, that might not be objectionable. Instead of three commissioners, interested in rum shops, FIGUREHEADS TO DO THE BIDDING OF POLITICAL BOSSSES, imagine a police commission made up of men who have no partisan interest in politics, and no interest in rum shops, with a police force of men picked for police ability and not for political purpose, headed by a man like Fred A. Tarbox, who has now been away from Biddeford so long that he is all out of touch with Biddeford politics, who would bring to the office the broader, non-partisan characteristics which fix the standard in Massachusetts who would hold office or forfeit it according to his merits as a policeman and not as a politician.

A Warranted Digression.

As has been stated, the whole situation in Biddeford hinges on the police question. The whole situation in the county even, hinges upon the Biddeford police question.

And so, while today's installment of The Record's review is made up rather more of comment than of history, the connection will be seen to be important.

The police question will be taken up later and the following instalment will get back to the strictly political history of one of the most stirring and important years of Biddeford's history, the year 1890.

It is a ripe field, this political history of Biddeford and there is lots of time in which to tell it, and the time from now until election day. As for the interest that Record readers and others are taking in it, there is no doubt about that. "Stretch it out," says the editor of the Record. "Give us all the details." This is the demand, and this warrants digressions, comments and reminiscences.

cowage.

The ability of Tarbox as a criminal officer and as a politician have been mentioned. The writer has no fear of controversy upon these points. His nerve has been referred to. Those who best knew him and who had had the opportunity to judge will not take issue with the writer upon this point. Columns could be written in proof of the nerve of Tarbox, and nerve is a very important qualification for a chief of police. Nerve does not mean brawling, bulldozing and bullying. It does not mean the resort to secret plots and the employment, or at least the sanction of thugs and toughs. The stories of Marshal Tarbox's chases of rum haulers by night, of his raids upon dive keepers, of his mixing up with the most dangerous toughs of the city (and there were dangerous toughs in those days, not of the order of the present "bad men," who carry the hearse of Harmon and his Industrial League, who are long on mouth and threats and short on performance), as The Record has noted, better than anybody else is Biddeford, perhaps, of his part in those stormy and riotous election days and canes, would be story of single handed nerve that would convince anybody who might have doubts as to The Record's tribute to Fred A. Tarbox's nerve.

One Incident.

One illustration will suffice, if proof is necessary.

It was during that crazy, senseless strike on the Pepperell in the spring of 1893. Tarbox was not then city marshal. He had refused a reappointment because he realized that with the advent of the state appointed police commission, which was inevitable, he would be deposed at once. But during this strike, which was the most riotous that Biddeford ever saw, the police seemed to be unequal to the emergency, and at the request of Agent McArthur, ex-Marshal Tarbox was appointed a special policeman. One noon there was something approaching a riot at the upper Lacoona gate. The police officers who were there were powerless to keep order. It was just as the bells were ringing in at 10 minutes of 1. Those who were going to work were greeted with all kinds of assaults, by words and otherwise, by the strikers without. It soon came to that pass that the gate was blocked and those who wanted to go in could not. And so was the street blocked, by a savage crowd of strikers, from the gate to Foss street corner. It was as noisy and desperate a crowd as Biddeford ever saw on any occasion.

In the midst of the turmoil Tarbox arrived. Some of his old officers, Rumsby, Charlard and Tate were stationed at the gate. They were powerless. They needed a leader. A saw mill team had just passed with a load of kindling wood. A little piece, not as large as a lath, had fallen off. Seizing this, and with no other weapon, Tarbox jumped into that angry mob, wading right and left with the slender stick. It was the spirit of the man, not the little stick that cowed and drove the crowd. The gate and the street were cleared and what had promised to become a serious riot melted before the nerve of one man.

It was nerve, all right, a kind of nerve that not half a dozen men in Biddeford, with no other authority than a special police officer's badge and no other weapon than a stick of kindling wood, would have been equal to.

An Important Bearing.

This is a departure but it has an important bearing on Biddeford's political history. It tends to show something of the character and supreme qualifications of the man who was then at the head of Biddeford's police force and who was legislated out of office by the police commission act.

And last some readers, understanding that The Record is nominally a Democratic paper, should have an idea that the merits and abilities of Fred A. Tarbox are being presented from a Democratic standpoint, the writer will state that in all the time Tarbox was at the head of Biddeford's police force, and for two years subsequently, for the matter, he was employed by the Journal, a political opponent to Marshal Tarbox, following the policy of the paper by which he was employed, a police as harsh as some may judge. The Record's

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

The Disfranchisement of 400 Voters  
-- The Riotous Election of 1890  
When the Police Filled the  
Jail With Sheriffs.

(Continued From January 11.)

The election results in 1888 and 1889 had satisfied the Republicans upon two points. First that they could not win the city back in an open election, such as they had attempted 1888, and second, that in a legitimate election, with only such issues as the administration could furnish them, they could not hope for success.

The French vote, which at this time was practically solidly Democratic, was the balance of power. As they had been unable to buy over or win over this vote, the question was how to get rid of it.

## The Disfranchisement.

Many foreign born citizens had been naturalized in the municipal court of this city. There had previously been a question arise as to the authority of this court to naturalize, ex-Judge John S. Derby, while editor of the Standard, having first raised the point, but neither side cared to press it, since both had been working the naturalization mill for all it was worth. But some of the Republican leaders, as the time for another election drew near, happened to think about this quibble. They saw in it a possible salvation. If the Biddeford court had no authority to naturalize then those who had paid their money for naturalization papers issued by this court and had voted upon them in good faith could be deprived of the right to vote. This would to a large degree eliminate the troublesome French vote, as the majority of those of that nationality had taken out papers from the Biddeford court.

## A Test Case.

The first thing was to make a test case and find out whether the naturalization papers issued by the Biddeford court were valid or not. As the result of numerous earnest counsels of the Republican leaders at the York club, John E. Gregory was selected to furnish the test case. He had taken out his first papers in the Biddeford court. He was sent to Portland for his second papers and the decision from the Portland court was just what the Republican leaders had hoped it would be, namely, that the Biddeford court had not the authority to naturalize.

This was before the registration law had been passed. The aldermen were then the only registration board. Accordingly John Moody, Republican alderman from ward 5, acting under the direction of the York club steering committee, introduced a petition in the board of aldermen asking that some 400 men, whose names had been secured from the municipal court records as having been naturalized by that court, be summoned to appear before the board and show cause why their names should not be stricken from the voting lists.

## Democrats Defeat.

This petition met with the fate which might have been anticipated. It was turned down solidly by the five Democratic aldermen. Election was close at hand. The aldermen went over the checklists as usual and nobody's name was stricken because of this quibble.

The Republican leaders were deeply incensed by this Democratic defiance. They made all sorts of threats and frequent conclaves were held to see what could be done to compel the Democrats to eliminate these names from the list or at least prevent them from voting.

They could not move the Democrats, who rightly maintained that it was none of their business what some Republican lawyer had given as his opinion of the validity of the naturalization papers issued by the Biddeford court. Those who held such papers were determined to vote and the Democratic leaders were determined that they should vote. The latter demanded as an outrage this scheme of wholesale disfranchisement.

## A Desperate Scheme.

Then the Republican leaders, a few days before election went to the Republican sheriff and laid out to him a desperate scheme. It was that he should send to Biddeford as many of his deputies as he could gather and appoint for the occasion a lot of special deputies to prevent these men from voting and to arrest those who attempted to.

Electoral morning saw a remarkable array of deputy sheriffs and special deputies in town. They had come

from all parts of the county, a score of them, and they were reinforced by the regular local deputies and a number of Republicans who had been sworn in as special deputies for the occasion. In all there must have been 35 or 40 who were sporting deputy sheriff's badges that morning. Among the number was former City Marshal, former United States Marshal, Charles E. Harmon. He had by that time cut loose from all Democratic allegiances, had been adopted with open arms by some of the Republican leaders and had even participated in some of the counsels which had led up to this muster of deputies and interference of the county sheriff in local politics.

## Democrats Were Ready.

But the Democrats were not caught napping. They knew all about the Republican scheme and met them at their own game. Before it was time for the polls to open about every policeman, regular and special reported for duty to City Marshal Tarbox and in addition about 100 other Democratic workers were sworn in as specials for the day. The City building was Democratic headquarters and the Savings bank building, in which the Journal office was then located, was headquarters for the deputy sheriffs.

It looked like trouble, all right, and it was not a misleading outlook. It was evident that some of the stranger deputies were a little uneasy even before the polls opened. Police badges outnumbered sheriff badges fully four to one and it was early apparent that the people who were about town were in sympathy with the Democrats in about the same proportion.

There was no doubt about the determination of the Democrats. They had closed the campaign with a rally urging everybody whose name was on the lists to vote and promising protection to them if they did vote. Arrangements had been made for the furnishing of bail in any amount that might be required.

## A Day Of Riot.

That was the most riotous election day that Biddeford ever saw. As it became time for the polls to open the deputies and police were distributed by assignment until every ward in the city had its coterie. The ugly feeling was apparent enough and the trouble was not long in starting. It began in "bloody ward" 4. There was a jostle and pull, haul. Deputy Sheriff Obed Stackpole pulled his revolver. That was enough. Half a dozen specials pounced upon the deputy and in a trice he was hustled to jail. That was the signal all over town. Every deputy that gave any excuse for the act was hustled to jail. The deputies at first mildly retaliated. Two Democratic workers were seized in ward 4 and taken over to Saco jail, but they were soon bailed out. Police Officer Orlanamad was also arrested and taken to Saco jail, but the Democrats had had all the best of this arresting business. City Marshal Tarbox had the old jail filled with deputies by noon time and some of them had been pretty roughly handled.

Nor could the Republican leaders work it so as to get their deputies out of jail. After he had got the cells filled and seen the deputies who were at large driven from the polling places, City Marshal Tarbox "got lost." He could not be found to serve any process upon by which the release of the prisoners could be secured. The deputies stayed in jail until after the polls closed.

It was a turbulent forenoon. By afternoon the deputies had given up all effort to intimidate the voters and were laying low in offices, that is those who were not in jail. From the shipyard to Harmon's corner it was one surging mob. Every deputy who was arrested would be followed by a hooting crowd until the police station doors closed on him. Hundreds stood in front of the police station all day.

## Deputy Sheriff Harmon.

As has been stated, ex-Marshal Harmon was one who had been adored with a deputy's badge and he was the man of all men that the Democrats

were looking for. But Harmon was discreet enough to keep out of sight. When his brother deputies were being dragged to jail he was watching proceedings from the Journal office window in the Savings bank building. When the mob became too wild outside, Special Deputy Harmon discreetly withdrew from the window. When he left the Journal office to go home to dinner at noon he was followed by a mob with every kind of a hoot and jeer to which he made no reply. After dinner Deputy Harmon was not in evidence. This explains why he did not get into jail. It is doubtful if any man ever got such shooting on the streets of a Maine city as Charles E. Harmon did that forenoon. Had he taken any part in ward room proceedings there is no telling what the result would have been.

## The Result At The Polls.

Major Staples, who was again the candidate that year was elected by 350 majority over Dr. John Lord. Previous to canons, the Republicans had made desperate efforts to induce Robert McArthur to stand as candidate. A petition which was signed by 400 men, half the voting strength of the party, had been presented to Mr. McArthur but he could not be induced to accept the nomination.

## Threats Fell Flat.

Of course there were all kinds of threats about what was going to be done to the wicked Democrats who had filled the jail full of Republican deputies. "Alcohol and graft" all the Democratic leaders had got to go to state prison, sure thing.

There were warrants enough issued from the Biddeford court to have filled a whole jail. There were various preliminary hearings which were tended by large audiences, with the result that "probable cause" was the unswerving judgment against the Democratic leaders who were tried and paid any attention to what the Democratic city liquor agency, but in spite of his attentions the agency continued to dispense liquor for medicinal and therapeutic purposes in such volume as to make Harmon and the Journal sweat blood.

## The Registration Law.

Doctor of the troubles in Biddeford had considered it his duty in bringing about the registration law. In all events, such a law was passed that winter and since then no Biddeford aldermen have been indicted by the United States court.

But the Republicans were still far from happy, for in the election of 1891 Mayor Staples was once more re-elected by the enormous majority of 515 votes. The Republicans made no fight that year.

## Ward Caucuses.

One feature of municipal politics of these years has been passed over but it may as well be referred to here, as we feature worth mentioning and unlike anything else in the days, and that was the caucuses for ward nominations for constables.

Of course there were contests for other nominations which were sometimes sharp, notably several fights in the ward for the nomination for constable and the nomination for alderman and councilmen.

Former Alderman North M. West and Peter Scanlan were the principals in two very exciting caucuses contests, in both of which the former was the winner, though it was claimed that Scanlan had the most votes.

There was a hard fight made to carry Biddeford that fall. The Republicans had provided with a good handle and the principles of the checklist had cut down the Democratic vote considerably. Yet at all this the Democrats went out of Biddeford with a majority of 78. In that election, active as the canvass was, the 1892 vote had cast out, while in the previous fall, the vote of nearly 500 in the vote was largely the result of the disfranchisement scheme.

## Aldermen Arrested.

Having failed once more in spite of the disfranchisement scheme and the alliance formed with Harmon and such other Democrats as he had induced to go with him into the Republican camp, the Republicans resorted to the old method of going to court. That has been the habit of the party in Biddeford to ask the courts and the legislature to give them what they could not take at the polls.

The York club steering committee, however, before the grand jury of the United States, charged

the indictment of the five Democratic aldermen on the charge of conspiracy, said conspiracy consisting of the alleged illegal work done by the aldermen on the checklists.

The same matter was taken into

the United States court, was a trial of a representative to Congress had been involved. Furthermore, Biddeford Republicans had carried the quarrel into the county court so often and with such a noisy result that their thoughts at

would stand a better chance of getting their revenge before the federal court,

and it was revenge that they were looking for.

So the United States deputy mar-

shal came out here and read the

papers on the following, who were

members of the board of aldermen:

Howard Hussey, Fred M. Rose, Fredrick Hayes, David Garnache, Samuel F. Pease.

This was regarded by the general

public outside of politics as a cul-

mination of outrages, but the indicted

aldermen had to go to Portland and

stand trial as conspirators.

## Found Not Guilty.

The trial lasted five days. District

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Five Democratic Aldermen Indicted,  
Tried and Acquitted on Charge  
of Conspiring in the Fed-  
eral Court.

(Continued From January 12.)

Probably nothing in the line ever equalled the jolting meeting held by the victorious Democrats in City Hall the evening of that riotous election day. There were the wildest cheers for everybody who had taken an active part in the battle, particularly for Mayor-Elect Staples and City Marshal Tarbox.

Everybody had to make some kind of a speech and how they flayed Harmon, the marshal and the leaders in general! The War Eagle and Col. F. W. Roberts and others who have since come over to Harmon's standard had a flag at the former Democratic city and United States Standard, who had that day worn a Republican deputy sheriff's badge.

It had been a wild day and the day the Democratic temper had changed greatly with the announcement of the result. As for Republicans, there was hardly one to be found in sight after the result had been announced.

## Harmon a Deputy.

When the new county administration came in last fall of the next year ex-City Marshal, ex-City Alderman Harmon was rewarded for his services to the new party by a regular appointment as deputy sheriff. He and J. W. Small of Saco were appointed deputies to enforce the prohibitory law. How did the Republican deputy sheriff enforce the liquor law from the enforcement of Democratic City Marshal Harmon in the years before? The only thing in the world that he did was to pay any attention to what the Democratic city liquor agency, but in spite of his attentions the agency continued to dispense liquor for medicinal and therapeutic purposes in such volume as to make Harmon and the Journal sweat blood.

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There was a hard fight made to carry Biddeford that fall. The Republicans had provided with a good handle and the principles of the checklist had cut down the Democratic vote considerably. Yet at all this the Democrats went out of Biddeford with a majority of 78. In that election, active as the canvass was, the 1892 vote had cast out, while in the previous fall, the vote of nearly 500 in the vote was largely the result of the disfranchisement scheme.

And the wrangles and trickery and rows that resulted from these contests would make a history in themselves, and unlike anything else in the days, and that was the caucuses for ward nominations for constables.

But the Republicans thought that they had a chance to carry a ward they had

caucuses fights over the constable nomination, but they were not so numerous or so large as the Democrats were continually having.

The word "graft" was not used

then, but the explanation of this

bustle for constable nominations

is furnished by that word "Graft" in the railroad books, the word "graft" was just as big a man as the sheriff or city marshal!

The constables will figure further

in this history.

## DIED IN LYNN.

Edward H. Ricker received word today of the death of his sister, Mrs. Sarah Meeuse in Lynn, Mass. yesterday. She had suffered from a heart trouble and other complications for some time and her death, though sudden, was not a surprise. Mrs. Meeuse lived in Scoville and was the widow of Andrew Meeuse of that town. She had been visiting relatives in Lynn, where she died. She leaves two brothers, Edward H. of this city and Frank of Lynn and one sister, Mrs. Henry Hardins of Haverhill. She was 84 years old and a native of Saco.

Olafur L. Moss, a painter by trade, died at his home 6 West Myrtle street, this morning at the age of 33 years and 10 months. He is survived by a mother, Mrs. Ellen Foss, and by a brother, Charles B. Foss, and was buried in the Charles B. Foss and was buried in the city. Notice of the funeral will be given tomorrow.

N. Goodbody, real estate agent, has sold the Larque farm in Saco to John Logan of Gorham.



# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

## The Police Commission Scheme— Charles B. Harmon and Louis Stuart Its Originators—The Prime Objects of the Scheme.

(Continued From January 15)

We have now come to the turning of the tide in local politics, to the not by which the city of Biddeford was put under state guardianship and held up before the whole state and the whole of New England as being incapable of self government.

Nothing else has had such an influence upon Biddeford, politically and morally, as the passage of the police commission law by the legislature of 1893.

It is a matter that the writer will go into more thoroughly than any other matter in that review has been gone into. There are some things which the writer will not be able to go into in detail, but every reader is assured that not a statement or assertion will be made in this matter which is not strictly a matter of proof, if required, and which the writer guarantees to furnish if called upon to do so.

What the writer does assert is that he knows just as much about the police commission scheme, from inception to realization, as Charles B. Harmon, or anybody else.

## The Objects.

It might be said that there were three primary objects in the securing of the police commission law. They were:

First, to provide political jobs for two men, Charles B. Harmon and Louis Stuart.

Second, to wrest Biddeford from Democratic control.

Third, to accomplish this and render their control permanent by building up just such a system as was later built up, commonly known as the Biddeford run syndicate.

While it is possible, and probably true, that the two commissioners upon a representation of higher motives, the fact remains that with those who conceived the scheme and pushed it through to a realization, these were the prime motives.

With the leaders of this police commission plan there was never a shadow of an honest purpose, never mind what representations were made or what arguments were used, privately or before the legislature.

## Harmon and Stuart.

From the time Harmon came over to the Republican side he had had his eye on the position he had filled under the Democrats, before being made Use of State Master of the Order to be master of Biddeford again. It was his one aim. He had become to hate those who had befriended him. He could conceive of no greater satisfaction than to be restored to his old office.

Charles B. Harmon worships power, not money, though by virtue of the police commission act he is enabled to combine the two. They talk about unloading Harmon and getting some good man for his place. G. H. Harmon's choice between a salary of \$3000 a year, with no power conceded and the position of chief of police of Biddeford with the power that goes with the office and salary and fees included, has lived on the minds of those who would choose the latter. Wouldn't you, Charles?

Louis Stuart had been a former Democratic police officer. He had fallen out with the Democratic leaders, as Harmon had. He and Harmon had become to be fast friends, politically and otherwise. Louis Stuart was a shrewd and thoughtful politician. No further proof is needed that the two men were in agreement on the police commission scheme.

It was Stuart's ambition to get back on the police force. He had a double motive. He wanted a job which was more to his taste than shoe-making, which trade was the work and which was not so locally. A. D. Tracy, who was the year of the birth of the police commission scheme. His other motive was, like Harmon's, that he had become to be a special mark for the Democrats, a particular mark for the Standard and for the War Eagle and other Democratic

speakers at rallies and jolliification meetings. So, like Harmon, Stuart could not have countenanced greater gratification than would be afforded him by the wearing of the blue coat and buttons which had been stripped from him by the Democrats. Harmon and Stuart had made themselves use of the services of the police, which were made of that faith who were willing to see their ambitions gratified.

## Motive No. 2.

The second motive which the police commission scheme has been set forth as having been to enable the Republicans to wrest the city from the Democrats who had held it ten years.

This motive hardly needs analysis.

We have seen how efforts had failed to make the police commission scheme a success, through ordinary campaign methods, through the outrageous disfranchisement of 400 voters, through intimidation by the aid of an army of deputy sheriffs, had failed in fact, in spite of the efforts of the Republicans that the Republican leaders could think up.

This was the motive that appealed much more strongly to the Republican leaders generally than did the ambitions of Harmon and Stuart to again secure the favor of others or to satisfy the hard feelings they entertained toward the Democratic leaders whom they had formerly served and who had taken the one from his shoemaker's bench and the other from the desk of the police commissionership. Their political ambitions which paid much better.

## Motive No. 3.

The third motive which has been ascertained for the police commission scheme is that by control of the police department the Republicans would be able to secure permanent control over liquor sellers and make use of them for political purposes.

It is a matter of record that Harmon, who had contributed their money and signed notes which they had to care for, for election boodle until they could stand the drain no longer. It was all mapped out how the rum houses would be made to take care of party finances.

The best proof that this motive is not mistated will be found in the developments and conditions which followed upon the introduction of the police commission bill.

These, then, were the three prime motives behind the police commission scheme:

To give Harmon and Stuart jobs and an opportunity to gratify political ill will.

To gain control of the city.

To manipulate the rum business.

## Who Fathered It?

There may be a general idea that the police commission scheme was a product of the Republican leaders, that is to say of the old party leaders of the York club who had originated other political schemes which have been mentioned.

In justice to them it may be stated that this is not the fact. The police commission scheme was the joint product of Charles B. Harmon and Louis Stuart, and the origin of the scheme later was probably more active than the former.

These two had faith that a police commission could be secured for Biddeford when nobody else in the city believed it possible or even practicable. In no other way could they have possibly been so successful in their ambition to gain the badges of police authority. Stuart sent away and received copies of various other police commission laws and he and Harmon made a study of the matter.

When the two men had come to the Republican leaders they were fairly ridiculed the scheme and treated the proposition as discouragingly that any others than Harmon and Stuart would be disappointed and abandoned the scheme.

On the contrary their faith in the possibilities grew. They labored to convince others. If they did not convince them of the possibility of getting such a scheme, they labored to get the legislature to at least interested them and drew them from the admission that a police commission would be a great thing for the Republican party in Biddeford. This was characteristic persistency and push. Harmon, in his letter to O. M. Moses, O. E. Prouty, B. F. Hamilton, R. H. Ford, O. E. Atwood and others who were then at the head of the police force, to consider the scheme which they had so ridiculed and discredited as a possibility that might be worth trying.

The Democrats had heard of the scheme but they made light of it. It was not until the winter of 1892 that the legislature of Maine could be induced or beguiled into passing a special law of this kind for Biddeford alone, in order to make jobs for Harmon and Stuart and to help the Republicans party to gain control of the city after ten years' failure to acquire that control by a free ballot.

This police commission scheme was hatched in the late fall of 1892 and Louis Stuart and Charles B. Harmon were the ones who hatched it. The origin of this plot to deprive Biddeford of self government cannot in truth be laid to the Republican leaders.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

## Engineering the Police Commission Plot Through the Legislature—Two Pledges it Was Necessary to Make—One Shut Out Harmon.

(Continued From January 15)

While the police commission scheme had been more or less under discussion at the York club and at other places where the Republican leaders gathered, it was well into the winter before the party leaders concluded to make the desperate play. Harmon and Stuart had for weeks been so persistently urging upon them.

The writer was one of five present at what was undoubtedly the first of the definite conferences and councils which followed to get the scheme shaped. This conference took place at B. F. Hamilton's old place in Biddeford, black, on a Sunday afternoon in the winter. The four beside the writer who were present were Charles B. Harmon, Louis Stuart, B. F. Hamilton, Morris Harmon and Stuart had introduced the bill, and the police commission laws in force in some other New England cities and states of by-laws and rules for the government and procedure of the commission. The legal aspects of the matter were considered as an off-hand matter in the two hours and a half. The main matter in its possibilities and probabilities and in its political results were talked over.

The real launching of the scheme may be said to have taken place at the Sunday conference. From that time on the matter was in the hands of the Republican leaders being shanghaied up for the effort to get it shanghaied through the legislature.

An extremely doubtful proposition, they all admitted, at first. Harmon and Stuart had no faith all along that their scheme would be realized.

## Preparing Reasons.

Of course, it would not do to go before the legislature and tell them in support of it that Harmon and Stuart wanted jobs and that the Republicans wanted the police to help them to gain success. Other reasons had to be shanghaied up, and the influence of as many Republicans as possible was secured by petition and otherwise in support of the demand.

The changes made in support of the demands for the police commission were strong ones. They gave Biddeford a fine reputation abroad.

It was charged that the police were offensive in politics.

It was charged that they were assessing a part of their salary for the political corruption fund.

Of course there is not a suspicion that the members of the Harmonized police force had to give up a dollar of their pay for a campaign baffle. Ask them, and they will tell you.

They charged that it was not safe for women to be alone upon the streets of Biddeford, day or night, and that it was disorder and so law be it.

The election riots were worked for all they were worth in support of the claim that Biddeford's police were dangerous desperadoes. There was no charge in that it was reckoned would influence the sentiment which was not made.

## Work On The Quiet.

These charges were for the benefit of the public but the real reliance of those behind the scheme was in their rolling and winning over those who would have a vote or an influence in the legislature if the matter got before that body. All the Republicans in York county who were organized and who were to be appointed to and the assistance of the big guns of the party in other sections of the state, the experienced lobbyists and wise pullers, sought and secured. In the language of the day it was a great push that was behind the police commission scheme which at its inception had but two men behind it, Harmon and Stuart.

And yet there were some Republicans in the state who first, last and all the time were in the police commission as an outrage and an unconstitutional interference with the rights of the people to govern their own affairs. Some papers of the state opposed the scheme. The Maine Farmer attacked it most and said, after it had got before the legislature, that everybody seemed to be ashamed to stand sponsor for it.

## In the Legislature.

In the winter of 1893 the measure was introduced in the legislature with the endorsement of the York county delegation to whom it had been referred, that it "ought to pass." The bill was introduced in the House to be called upon in the majority to do the bidding of the Biddeford bosses. The bill didn't come up for a hearing until early in March. All hope of getting it through in season for it to have an influence in the spring election had been abandoned. In fact, while the master was hanging fire in the House it was regarded by the Republicans that there was a hard chance of its getting through and the Democrats, however, had never brought themselves to believe that so much a measure for so transparent a purpose would be enacted.

The police commission was opposed in the legislature by H. B. Walker, Edwin Stone, H. B. May of Portland, Herbert M. Heath of Portland, while all the Democratic leaders of the city were on hand to do what they could to defeat the bill. In sum, the bill was B. F. Hamilton, Hob.

C. F. Libby of Portland and Gen. Smith of Bangor.

## It Cost Something.

Such talent cost something. In fact it must have taken a lot of money to make the police commission scheme work. How was it paid? Some of it is the ordinary manner of raising a political fund, but if the assertions made by some at the time are to be believed, the greater part of it came from those who expected a profit in fact and were certain to certain privileges which were not to be enjoyed under the old police system. There were those who claimed that the promise of ranselling privileges had been extended in return for the assistance they were willing to give toward the scheme, even before it was a sure thing that the commission would be established.

## Necessary Promises.

There were some men with confidence in the legislators of 1893, who voted for the police commission bill, accepting the rank statements of those who were pushing it as true, and believing that they were really doing something in the interest of Biddeford and the people.

But there were some things upon which they had to be most positively assured, before they would support the bill.

They were most solemnly and emphatically assured that the police commission would not participate in politics and that the police force should be kept out of politics.

The police commission could never have passed, but for this assurance.

There was one other assurance which had to be given, in order to get the necessary number of votes. It was this:

THAT CHARLES B. HARMON  
SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN A PLACE  
IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

This assurance was frequently demanded and as often given. Without this assurance the measure would not have commanded the support of half the York delegation.

Of these two promises was given in good faith and the other was given in bad faith.

When it was promised that the police department should be kept out of politics it was part of the bunco game just the same as it was a part of the bunco game to obtain a vote to close the police force to the public. The police force was not to be allowed on the streets of Biddeford.

But when it was promised that Harmon should not have an appointment under the police commission it was a promise made in good faith for he was probably the first of the prominent party leaders who were working for the measure who had an idea of Harmon being made Chief of police. Fifty per cent of Biddeford Republicans would have opposed the police commission if they had had an idea that Harmon was to land where he did land.

The election riots were worked for all they were worth in support of the claim that Biddeford's police were dangerous desperadoes. There was no charge in that it was reckoned would influence the sentiment which was not made.

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## MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

### How Mr. Banks Was Influenced to Vote for Harmon for City Mar- shal-The Installation of the State Police.

(Continued from January 20.)

While those who wanted to see Harmon appointed marshal believed that Mr. Prescott was the only man who could possibly induce Mr. Banks to vote for him, there were grave doubts about Mr. Prescott being inclined to use his influence in that direction.

He had been one of the hardest workers for the passage of the police commission law and had given assurances over and over again that there was no intention or possibility of Harmon being appointed under the new law. Nor is there any reason to doubt that this assurance was given in good faith.

At that time old animosities between Prescott and Harmon had not been lived down, and it is certain that political animosities were never more bitter in this city than these two had entertained toward each other when Harmon was a Democrat. During the repeater affair the Journal was particularly hard on Harmon and Harmon, being more sensitive to newspaper comment than he is now, had been goaded into such desperation that he threatened personal violence to Editor Prescott, and the latter made no secret of the fact that for months he had carried a revolver in the expectation that it would be necessary to use it in defending himself against Harmon.

Regular "Arizona Kidder" days, were those, so different from the present.

#### Waiting For Prescott.

So the prospects of Harmon's landing the city marshalship were hanging upon the return of Mr. Prescott and his disposition when he got home. Some thought he could be convinced that Harmon would be the most useful man politically that could be appointed. Others believed that when he did get home he would be of the same mind as Mr. Banks and encourage the latter to stand out to the end against Harmon's appointment as stubbornly as he had stood out to that time.

In the meantime Mr. Ford and others were doing what they could to soften Mr. Banks and were making more or less progress, though he was far from yielding. Mr. Banks had faith in Mr. Prescott and so he also was awaiting the latter's return.

Somehow the other candidates who had been named for the office did not push their claims very hard. It seemed to be recognized that Harmon's claims should first be disposed of. There was also more or less talk about who was to go on to the force in place of the Democratic policemen, for nobody doubted that they would be turned out as soon as the commissioners took the reins, but this was a matter also that had to wait until the marshalship question was settled.

#### Mr. Prescott Returned.

Finally Mr. Prescott got back to town and he was at once besieged in the interests of Harmon and urged to use his influence with Mr. Banks for his appointment.

At the outset Mr. Prescott declared with emphasis that he would not do anything to help Harmon, but would on the contrary oppose his appointment. He had not forgotten the past and believed it would be a great mistake politically to have Harmon at the head of the police force, as well as a rank violation of all understanding and agreement which had been necessary to get the support required for the putting through of the police

commission scheme. But much argument and great pressure were brought to bear to change his views and finally he was won over to champion Harmon with Mr. Banks and, as had been figured out in the first place, he proved the one man who could convert Mr. Banks from his stubborn opposition to Harmon.

It was done, and some time before the appointment was made it was known that Harmon was to be the man, known at least to those on the inside but still doubted by others.

#### Harmon Appointed.

But all doubts were set at rest when Messrs. Banks and Ford met, declared Daniel Cote removed and elected Charles E. Harmon city marshal in his place. It is hardly necessary to state that Mayor Staples did not vote for Harmon. He maintained that Daniel Cote was City marshal and that the police commission was illegal and he fought it out on that line as long as there was any use in fighting. As for the action of the police commissioners in declaring Daniel Cote removed that has all been gone over in connection with his suits against the city and against Harmon and two of the supreme court judges have ruled that Mr. Cote was never legally removed and that in consequence Harmon was never city marshal, though he continued to wear that title and pose and perform as such for seven years.

Much dissatisfaction was occasioned among Republicans by Harmon's appointment but it had the endorsement of the leaders and Harmon had the badge of police authority and the badge of political influence and the dissatisfaction was not very strongly or openly expressed except by a few.

In order to carry out the bluff of a non partisan force, to give some color before the public to the alleged objects of the new law to remove the police from politics, it was decided to continue in office two of the old police. The two selected were Officers Morgan and Rameray. The former has continued a member of the force. The latter did not find it congenial to remain under Harmon after a few weeks.

#### The New Regime.

There was a chance for serious trouble when the new order of things came into operation July 1st. The Republican leaders had anticipated some trouble in securing possession of the station house. The people were with the old officers and had City Marshal Cote refused to give up possession of the station house there would have been a good sized riot. In anticipation of some such trouble the Republicans had sent some more deputies here, but they would have stood a small chance against the mob as the feeling was that night.

Police Officer Charland was also a constable and after he had been evicted from the police station he made a liquor seizure, raged up and down the street, challenging Harmon to a fight and swearing he would make him fight if he found him, but Harmon was lucky enough or thoughtful enough to avoid a clash with Charland.

And though there was considerable excitement that first evening the opportunity for serious trouble passed.

For six months the new police officers served without pay. Mayor Staples refused to draw his warrant for police pay and suits had to be entered and passed upon by the courts.

The decision of the courts finally gave the officers their pay, but it was dreary for the police until they got it. Their living expenses were guaranteed by Republicans, but they had rather a disagreeable time of it.

We have now seen the state police force established. There is much that might be told that has not been, but the writer does not anticipate that he will be called upon to furnish proof that the foregoing statement from the inception to the realization of the police commission scheme has been generally correct. The influence in local politics will hereafter be an important matter for consideration.

## MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

### Shrewd, Insidious and Methodical Work by Which the Two Republican Police Commissioners Became Thoroughly Harmonized.

(Continued from January 21.)

Just before the new police commission law came into effect the board of mayor and aldermen met and reduced the regular police force from seven to four men.

The new law provided that the force should not be larger than was employed when the law took effect, and so there were only four men to have places or rather four places for the many aspirants at the outset.

This action of the mayor and aldermen was a little embarrassing at the outset, but the commissioners soon got over it and appointed as many men to the force as they wanted to. Little things like provisions of the new law never bothered the police commissioners from the start.

#### Developing Rum Business.

One thing which the supporters of the police commission had had in mind from the first was that with both the police force and the sheriff in control they could manipulate the rum business as it had never been manipulated before.

When the police commission came into authority, in 1883, and this is worth noting there was not what could be termed a saloon in the city.

There were about two thirds as many drug stores as at present. Not one single bar room. There was liquor being sold of course. There always was and always will be but there

were two reasons why the business did not amount to much. In the first place the agency was meeting all the demands (for mechanical and medicinal purposes) and this hurt the trade.

Then between Democratic police, Republican deputy sheriffs and seven ward constables, all looking for a graft out of the rum business, it was

discouraging to rummelling enterprises of the kind we have since known.

So rummelling prospects looked up from the time the police commissioners got the reins in their hands and yet there was another difficult task for Harmon and his lieutenants to accomplish.

#### Working Mr. Banks.

While it was generally believed that Commissioner Ford had such confidence in Harmon that he would not interfere with any policy he might attempt to inaugurate, Commissioner Banks had been a life long temperance man. Could he be made to wink at any collusion between the police and rummellers? That was a grave question. It was nobody's idea that Mr. Banks could be won over to open alliance with any scheme which involved granting rummelling privileges.

But Mr. Banks was a mild man, advanced in years, as unfit for the position of police commissioners under such associations as henceforth surrounded him as a child would be. It has often been a wonder how a man of the character and lifelong record of Mr. Banks could have become to be so subservient to Harmon and all his subordinates as he became to be. The explanation is this:

Mr. Banks was made the victim of an insidious scheme which had been discussed far in advance of his assuming his office as chairman of the state police force.

Keep this point in mind because others had it in their minds all along, that the chief value of the police commission as a part of the Republican political machinery was the expected development and control of the rum business. To be sure it would give Harmon a job anyhow and it would enable the Republican leaders to pay off an old score against Tarbox and his police and against the Democratic organization which had been invincible for ten years, but the real political value of the state police force was confidently expected to come through manipulation of the rum business.

#### Mr. Banks Loses Himself.

Probably Mr. Banks honestly regarded himself as a non-partisan when he consented to serve as police commissioner. Probably under different conditions and associations he would have filled the bill as well as anybody, but party feeling was high. It kept growing higher and before Mr. Banks knew it he was just as rabid a partisan as Mr. Ford or Mr. Staples and having cast his lot in with Harmon it was only a matter of a short time before he was completely under his control. Three months after the police commission had been established Harmon was a good deal more concerned over what Commissioner

sion, it had swallowed up his most bitter antagonists. Editor Prescott and his paper, it swallowed up Mr. Banks who had originally been the strongest opponent of Harmon and conceivable and years later as will be shown, with particular reference to the Citizens' movement and to THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN, Harmon had swallowed up the very men whom he had debarred from political power and who owed to him only hatred and enmity, by every law of human nature and of politics.

There are men who in 1894 were willing to make oath that they would yield up every hope of regaining political power, almost of every ambition of a lifetime, almost of life itself, to down Charles B. Harmon, who are today the most abject sucking-lings in his political nest.

#### Lots More to Come.

If this assertion is not made good in the future, by facts which cannot be denied, then cast this whole review of Biddeford's political history aside as a fable and a fake. The Record finds that this political review is receiving unexpected attention. So great is the manifest interest that whereas it was expected to have it closed by the first of February, here we are on January 22 with ten more years of Biddeford's political history to cover. While the former instalments may seem to have been an arrangement of Republican politics and policies, the Democrats will come in for their share of frank attention, later.

Ford thought than about what Mr. Banks thought. Mr. Banks had completely lost himself under the influence of Harmon.

They began sowing the seed early to win Mr. Banks over from any scruples he had against the rum business. The opportunity was frequently made for this man or that to discuss the liquor question, not with him, but in his presence, so that he might imbibe new ideas and lose old prejudices.

The awful iniquity of the city liquor agency was presented. It was argued how much more decent it would be to allow a little liquor sold than to have the city engaged in the wholesale and retail rum business.

It was argued in his presence that the closer the law was enforced the more drunkenness there was, that men who would drink beer if they could get it would drink the vilest craze creating stuff when they could not get beer. There was system, method and perseverance employed in this line to at least annoy Mr. Banks' scruples and they succeeded so well that he had no suggestions for his police when the sale of liquor became more and more open and extensive.

#### A Silent Partner.

So Mr. Banks, without giving his consent to an open alliance between the police and the rummellers, acquiesced to the point that he offered no objections, and this was the consummation of the hopes of those who had planned how he might be "worked" as far back as the time he was first suggested as a member of the police commission.

Mr. Banks has passed beyond the realms of politics within the last year. It is not The Record's belief that any dead man is entitled to any laudation that he was not entitled to when alive. Hon. Eseff H. Banks stood much higher in public opinion in A. D. 1893, than he did ten years later, in 1903. And yet The Record does not believe that he sacrificed one dollar from all the iniquities of the police department of which he was supposed to be the head. Mr. Banks was made the victim of party prejudices and insidious influences, in accordance with the general outline of a plot which had been formed when he was selected for the chairmanship of the police commission. What his inward thoughts were after the realization was upon him, as it must have been, for it is an insult to his intelligence to believe otherwise, that under the administration of the police commissioners of which he was the state appointed head, rummellers had jumped into times of prostration and flagrant defiance, never dreamed of before in York county, it is not within the province of any man to tell. But it is The Record's belief that when he told the head of the W. C. T. U. of Biddeford two years ago that coming summer, in response to the petition presented to him, asking that he instruct his police to close up the local rumshops, that he "could do nothing," he spoke the truth simply, though perhaps, and probably regretfully.

#### The Swallowing Process.

Hon. E. H. Banks, appointed in the first place to give character to the police commission, had unwittingly become to be the victim of shrewd politicians, to fall in with the plot they had had in mind, to become to be a silent and upholding partner in the original police commission scheme. In fact, he had become to be swallowed up by Harmon, as he later saw the party he had served a life time swallowed up.

Harmon and Harmonson had replaced the Republican party in Biddeford. It had swallowed up men less mild, more shrewd, less aged, more pugnacious than Hon. Eseff H. Banks. Harmonson had swallowed up the makers of the police commis-

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Jan 23-1904  
Campaign of 1894-Two Remarkable Personal Triumphs-The New City Marshal Fumigates Democratic Caucus.

(Continued from January 23.)

It should not be understood that any sudden development of the rum business followed the inauguration of the police commission immediately. The Republican leaders were too foxy for that and Harmon was too cautious. There was simply a gradual loosening up, the opening of a few new places and nothing of the really wide open character of the business as we have known later.

By winter there was considerable going on and there was general talk that the rum-sellers had got to stand an assessment to help the Republicans carry the city, for it was early known that they were to make a fight and that the state police were expected to prove of great assistance.

There had always been talk about rum money being contributed to help one party or the other, but it is worthy of note that never until the inauguration of the non-partisan state police force with Harmon at the head had any talk of general assessment of rum-sellers been heard.

#### The Campaign of 1894.

By the time caucuses had been called the Republican leaders had got things pretty well shaped for a fight except in one important detail that had not been able to hit upon a satisfactory candidate. It was not until almost the eve of caucus that ex-Judge Charles S. Hamilton was mentioned as the proper candidate.

Of course there was strong protest and grave misgivings on the part of the leaders and Harmon was among those who protested earnestly against Judge Hamilton, at the outset. But the suggestion of his name went like wild fire, particularly among the young men. There was genuine enthusiasm and the party leaders could not check it.

Judge Hamilton had already agreed to present Geo. W. Carter's name to the caucus and he did so. His own name was immediately presented by Daniel A. Doyle and the name of R. H. Ingersoll was also presented by Capt. Amos Goodwin. The caucus was a big one and the vote was by ballot resulting as follows: R. H. Ingersoll, 57, Geo. W. Carter, 125, Charles S. Hamilton, 229.

From the nomination the Hamilton boom was on and it held up.

The Democrats did not go into the fight with the old spirit. William A. Roberts had long held political ambitions but the old Democratic leaders did not look upon him with favor. Mr. Roberts was not to be discouraged however, and when there became to be some doubt about who should be the Democratic candidate he got a move on and worked himself into a position where there was nothing else to do than nominate him. Those were the days when Mr. Roberts had money to burn and was willing to burn it and there was an excellent opportunity to burn money in Biddeford politics then. This was an important qualification that Mr. Roberts possessed.

It was not for lack of money but for lack of management that Mr. Roberts was defeated, as he was, for the Republicans carried the city after a most exciting campaign, for Judge Hamilton made a lively fight. He was elected the first Republican mayor in eleven years by a 200 majority and had the city government with him. It was claimed by Mr. Roberts friends that the old Democratic leaders threw him down and did not try to elect him. It is probably true that many of the old war horses did not feel like

shedding tears over his defeat, but the real reason that he got no more support was that he insisted upon managing his own campaign according to his own ideas. He had an exaggerated idea of his own personal popularity and relied upon that rather than upon ordinary campaign methods to elect him.

However, the tide had turned. A good many voters wanted a chance after eleven years under practically the same administration and it is doubtful if any candidate could have beaten Judge Hamilton that year, as the feeling was. Certainly not without a very big boodle.

#### Two Personal Triumphs.

Biddeford politics had within a year shown two remarkable personal triumphs, probably as remarkable as the entire history of Maine politics could show.

Charles S. Hamilton, impeached before the whole state and removed from the judgeship of the municipal court in 1891, and three years later elected mayor of the city, the first Republican to be elected in eleven years.

Charles B. Harmon, Democratic United States marshal in 1889, hated by every Republican in the city, almost, three years later Republican city marshal, and recognized Republican leader of the city.

Where can you find parallels for these two instances?

And this suggests something which may appeal to the superstitions:

Eleven years proved the limit for Biddeford Democrats.

Harmon's eleventh year will be up next summer.

#### The Sins of War.

It has been stated that the Republicans were well fixed for boodle in this, their first winning campaign. It is a natural query where they got it. They had made several unsuccessful boodle fights for which the contraband had not recovered. They had not offices to assess, except the police, and they had not received their first payment until that winter. There ordinary and extraordinary methods of raising campaign boodle. Note to be taken care of by the officeholders is an ordinary method. Note to be taken care of by stipulated assessments upon rum-sellers is, or was then, an extraordinary method. The money, that is, the bulk of it, for the first Hamilton campaign was raised by this extraordinary method. It was an innovation made possible by the police commission. The real birth of what afterward was known as the Biddeford rum syndicate was in the closing days of the campaign of 1894 when the boodle was raised. Whose scheme it was might be told, but perhaps it is unnecessary to state.

In after years no notes were necessary for the Republican collector made his rounds regularly and collected the cold cash from the industries which were protected by the state police.

#### The Agency Closed.

The new Republican city government, its motto, "Let Us Be Honest," will be recalled, was spared one task, that was the closing of the city liquor agency. No more did the Journal have acute hysterics. No more did Harmon lie awake nights and shed tears over this wicked institution for "medicinal and mechanical purposes." Harmon had kept one of his police watching the agency for weeks from a window across the way. The testimony of the officer was a revelation of the great demand for alcoholic liquor for mechanical and medicinal purposes. Harmon grieved but the agency kept doing business at the old stand until the closing days of the last Democratic administration when the mayor and board of aldermen voted to close the administration. If they hadn't done this, may be the Republicans would have continued it. They did not have the nerve to reopen it after it had been closed. It would have broken the hearts of Harmon and Editor Proctor.

#### Harmon's Fumigation.

One incident of the campaign of 1894 has been passed over which should not be. It was Harmon's famous fumigation act, forgotten by some, no doubt, who will readily recall it.

Harmon had been the head of the NON-PARTISAN police force, forbidden by the law which created it from

taking active part in politics, just about six months when the Democratic caucus which nominated W. A. Roberts was held.

Harmon conceived of a bright idea and proceeded to carry it out. He threw open the doors of the old police station to the back stairway which led to the upper part of the building and started in fumigating the police station by burning brimstone. The fumes of the brimstone arose into the hall so strong that it was almost impossible to breathe but the windows were thrown open and the caucus managed to get through its business. Harmon's glee that night as he heard of the coughing, strangling Democrats at the caucus was extreme. It was the Democratic caucus and not the jail cells that Harmon had in mind when he started his fumigation.

Now consider this performance of the non-partisan police force, six months in office.

And then remember that this same man who burned three shovelful of brimstone to break up a Democratic caucus in 1894, nine years later prosecutes Frank Cote for burning red fire in front of his own place of business after midnight Fourth of July morning.

#### The New Administration.

It is hardly necessary to review the Hamilton administration of 1894. Having been out of office for eleven years it was a hungry crowd that followed the new administration with hopes of landing some office and there were the usual sharp contests before the slate was finally made. In general, the Kendall faction got a very small end of it. The first year of the Hamilton administration was perhaps expensive but it was progressive and there were a few orders passed by the city council without full discussion that year as any year in Biddeford's history. The common council sat more in the discussions that year than it ever did before or since.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

## Constables Interfere With State Police and Are Abolished--Harmonism Grows and the York Club Decays.

Jan 25-1904.

(Continued From January 23.)

The police commission had been entrenched about a year and that department was not bothering itself much about the new Republican administration. This first year of state police regime had seen considerable development in the rum business, more particularly in the beer business. It had extended from drug stores and saloons and restaurants to the grocery stores. The police rum syndicate was being nursed through a very healthy infancy, but there was one obstacle.

### Trouble With Constables.

There were still Democratic constables in the city and they intruded themselves upon Republican plans. They had all the powers of a sheriff or city marshal, and were therefore in a position to blackmail rum sellers just as successfully as the sheriffs or police. They did it, too, some of them, and even the Republican constables knew a good thing when they saw it and these also mixed in, with the result that the rum sellers did not receive the protection they were paying for.

These constables were free lances. Their plunder was for their own benefit. They were beholden to no body but the voters of their wards who nominated and elected them. They were about the biggest guns in the city and made no secret of their blackmail. Constables had jurisdiction all over the county and Biddeford becoming known to be good picking town out of town constables came and got their bit. Not all of the constables were grafters, or blackmailers, however.

### Early Clashes.

In order to make one story of this constable matter some important early occurrences have been passed over.

In the fall of 1898, soon after the police commission came into power, the first clash between the police and constables occurred.

William F. Yates was manager of the Opera house and Harmon assigned police to do duty at hall shows. Mr. Yates had no use for the state police and put Democratic constables on duty at the hall and refused to let the police in the show.

The result was that Harmon took a hand and when the smoke of battle cleared away the Democratic constables were locked up in jail.

This was an early illustration of the way Harmon proposed to run things. He was greater than the law. Of course everybody knows that now but the people were not quite prepared for a sudden change from the old law to the new lawziver. They came around to it finally. Today nobody enquires what the law says or authorizes. All that is necessary to know is what Harmon says or authorizes.

But the imprisoned constables held the new law an argument in this matter. The case was tried out in the municipal courts and Judge Cram decided that Harmon had no business sending policemen into the hall unless requested to or unless some disturbance made it necessary, and so it continued as far as City hall was concerned, that constables, not police, were on duty.

There were various minor clashes between police and constable authority.

When it came to the next election, the Democrats attempted to offset the activity and invalidation of the non-partisan police by getting as many constables as they could to be around the polls.

### Harmon Knocked Out.

Late in the afternoon Harmon went down into ward 4 and ran into trouble. They were having a pretty hot election there but there had been no serious trouble until the head of the non-partisan police force arrived. Under the spirit and letter of the police commission law he had no business in any ward room unless to preserve order. The warden, who had full charge of the polling place, had not asked for police assistance, but Harmon jumped into the ward room like a bull and began to give orders. He did not get very far, however. A blackjack, swung hard, fell upon his head and he went down on the floor with bleeding head, but friendly hands picked him up and possibly saved him from being knocked to death, such was the temper of the crowd and the hatred of Harmon.

Constable A. A. Dolloff of Kenne-

bunkport was convicted of the assault, in the municipal court and bound over, but the case was settled somehow and never came before the supreme court.

### Raids By Constables.

The rum business had developed so greatly that the Democratic leaders sent up to Sanford and got Ed H. Emery and another constable named Tibbets to come down here and they made half a dozen raids and seized a lot of liquor. There was no graft or bluff in connection with these raids. They were the real thing. The Sanford constables religiously searched every place they were directed to, for being strangers they of course had to have directions. These raids aroused high indignation with the Republican leaders and in non-partisan police circles.

### Constables Abolished.

The result of these different troubles in which the constables figured suggested to the Republican leaders more special legislation. There was no way to fully realize rum syndicate plans until these troublesome constables were disposed of. And so down to Augusta go the Republican leaders once more with petitions and lawyers and witnesses to tell the legislature what a trouble and disgrace the old time office of constable was bringing upon Biddeford and praying that it be abolished. And it was not alone for Biddeford that they wanted the office abolished; they wanted the office in Saco abolished as well and the jurisdiction of other out of town constables limited by law to their own towns.

Opposition was put up at the hearing but the York delegation again did the bidding of the Biddeford bosses and the bill passed. The city marshal by virtue of his office had the powers of constables and this provision was not disturbed, so that the city marshals of Biddeford and Saco were the only constables left enjoying the full jurisdiction of the old office or with authority to meddle in Biddeford.

Harmon was a constable, and of course there were no fears then that Republican Saco would make any trouble.

### The Real Object.

It cost considerable to remove the constables, but the money was forthcoming. The costs were assessed upon the rum sellers and gladly enough they contributed to get rid of these officers for all time who had cost them so much money and trouble.

Whatever disgraceful uses had been made of the powers of constables, and there is no denying that the office had been disgraced and degraded, there was no motive of purity or reform back of this movement to abolish the office. The only object of the move was to put the control of the rum business absolutely and entirely in the hands of the Republican sheriff and state appointed police. With the constables removed there was no fear of any conflict between these two departments. The nearest approach to a conflict that there has been in the ten years that have passed has been between Harmon and Sheriff Fog and the latter has apparently finally been driven to play into the Harmon policy of open shops for political bootie.

### The Results.

With the removal of the constables came a great development in the rum business. New places opened up, wholesale as well as retail. There was little pretense by the sheriffs of enforcing the law and none whatever by the two police departments.

Not a seizure was made by the police unless to drive some Democratic rum sellers to make terms with the Republican bosses. Police Commissioners Banks and Ford were an acquiescent in this policy as any two men who could have been found. Harmon had become to be the whole police commission.

It was amazing how rapidly men who had formerly been active Democratic workers became to be Republican workers. Their reward was a rumrunning privilege. It seemed as though these privileges were reserved for former Democrats. It was not necessary to buy Republicans with them. In nine cases out of ten when a new saloon was opened it was some former Democrat who opened it but thenceforward he was to be reckoned

an active Republican.

York Club's Decline.

The old York club contingent which had for years represented the Republican leadership became of little consequence politically. They had yielded their leadership to Harmon and his new recruits. The police station and the saloons became the breeding places of political schemes and plans. The York club was scarcely visited. It was of no consequence whatever politically and of very little socially. The new Republican party that had been created by the police commission had little use for a staid and respectable institution like the York club.

The development of the rum syndicate and the decadence of the York club, the growth of Harmonism and shrinking of old time Republicanism kept pace from the inauguration of the police commission.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

## The Campaign of 1895-Candidate for Mayor Thrown Out of Republican Caucus and Jailed by Non-Partisan City Marshal.

Continued From January 25

An event which Biddeford has had cause enough to remember occurred in the first year of the Hamilton administration at the very close of the old year. While it was not a political event, it was an event which had a good deal of influence on politics. This was the burning of the City building which entailed such an extra expense to taxpayers and gave such an opportunity for graft and jobs that it may be said to have been the cause of the Citizens' movement.

Remove this disaster and its effects from Hamilton's administrations and they would compare favorably with other administrations. The money spent on the Westbrook job left something to show for it, even if it was claimed that it cost a good deal more than it should have. The Hamilton administrations were progressive, if not economical. Costly as they were the city has more to show for those two years than for any other ten years thus can be named. The Westbrook job, the purchase of a road roller and the first work of macadamizing streets, the purchase of Gifford park, better equipment in the fire department, these are some of the excuses the Hamilton administration can point to for its alleged extravagance. Put these things along side the small-van steal of last year and who will say that the Hamilton administrations do not compare very favorably with the recent administrations of economy and reform?

And this also is to be taken into consideration. The Republicans administration came in upon the cry of corruption and graft that the Democrats had enjoyed. The Citizens' party came into power on the cry of corruption and graft that the Republicans had enjoyed. The Hamilton administration employed an expert to discover Democratic dishonesty and claimed to have discovered it. The Citizens employed a committee to discover the dishonesty of the Hamilton administration, and claimed to have done it. Nobody was ever called to account and here is the peculiar thing.

Almost every man who was accused of graft or crookedness under either the Democratic or Hamilton administration is a member of the Citizens' reform party today and those who were accused of profiting most at the expense of the taxpayers are the leading spirits of the present "reform" movement. Isn't it true?

### The Campaign of 1895.

A good deal of dissatisfaction had arisen in the first year of the Hamilton administration but the Democrats seemed disinclined to take advantage. One reason probably was that it was considered that the city building elephant would swamp any party. Still some of the Democrats wanted to make a fight and at the caucus W. A. Roberts who would have liked another, was beaten out of sight by Frederick Yates. It looked like a fight but Mr. Yates pulled out and John B. Lowell was substituted. No real fight was made and the Hamilton administration was reinstated for another year.

The writer has high authority for the statement that in anticipation of a fight the Republican leaders had raised by one process and another the sum little bundle of \$9,000 for the election of 1895. The non-partisan head of Biddeford's non-partisan police force was commonly credited

with having done most of the figuring which yielded this sum.

The entire money expense of the Democratic campaign was \$27.50. It is certainly not to be wondered at that the Republican administration was "vindicated."

### The Arrest of Doyle

The campaign of 1895 did not pass without Harmon distinguishing himself. Of all the breaks he ever has made, and there are lots of them, his arrest of Daniel Doyle, non-partisan member of the legislature, which just passed Harmon's bill abolishing constables through, in a Republican caucus in which Doyle was a legitimate candidate for mayor.

Match this, if you can. The year and a half old head of the non-partisan police force arresting a member of the legislature and candidate for the nomination of mayor in a Republican caucus.

Doyle had had a falling out with the Hamilton administration and had gathered a strong following to try to capture the nomination himself. He and Harmon did not bitch well and Harmon took his police to the hall, (the caucus was held in the Infantry hall) and stationed himself at the door where he began to shut off men from entering the hall who, he suspected might vote for Doyle. It was a big caucus and an exciting one. It was "tai tub" night with the usual du outside. Doyle's following was much larger than had been expected. It was further rumored that the Keeley club, then in its strength, was coming down in a body to vote for Doyle.

The non-partisan police chief, tormented by law to meddle in politics, took it upon himself to run the caucus and keep Doyle voters from even entering the hall. He had two officers with him and it was a formidable array of brass buttons which was encountered at the head of the stairs.

It was the star act of the non-partisan police force.

Harmon shut out some of Doyle's friends and Doyle remonstrated. Doyle was about half as big as Harmon but he was stuffy and he made some uncomplimentary remarks about the state police force.

In a jiffy the trio of non-partisan police had clutched Doyle and his feet did not touch the stairs until he reached the landing. The police station was temporarily in the old Bryant building and there Representative to the Legislature and Candidate for Mayor Doyle was flung into a cell while the caucus proceeded to run through the nomination of Doyle's opponent.

### When Harmon Slept.

Lawyer Charles T. Read hurried to Saco and found Judge Burbank from whom he obtained a writ of habeas corpus and Deputy Sheriff Stackpole served this writ upon Harmon before the caucus was over. Had he obeyed the writ, Doyle would have been at liberty within half an hour, but over in Judge Burbank's office they waited and waited but Harmon did not show up with his prisoner. Judge Burbank got his ire up and issued a capias for the arrest of Harmon for contempt of court and a little later Deputy Stackpole came over with Harmon, and with Harmon was Doyle. Harmon ate some very humble pie that night, which was served up by Judge Burbank. However, as the recent Leavitt incident shows, he did not acquire lasting respect for the habeas corpus.

Doyle was later put before the court and fined \$5 and costs on the charge of disturbing a public assemblage. He appealed and the case never came up in high court. But Doyle turned around and brought suit for false arrest against Harmon. The case was continued around to the next January and in the meantime pressure had been brought upon Doyle to drop the suit. He did not do so however, until the day set for the trial and then he received \$50 and costs, amounting to nearly \$70.

The court records show therefore that before this non-partisan head of the non-partisan police force had been in office two years he had been arrested upon a capias for contempt of court and sued civilly for arresting a mayoralty candidate and representative to the legislature at a Republican caucus.

### Removal Demanded.

The arrest of Doyle and other inci-

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

## The High Tax Rate and the Great Development of the Rum Syndicate the Chief Issues of 1895.

Continued From January 26.)

The Record was born almost with the second Hamilton administration. The municipal year had just begun when the first issue of The Record appeared.

The Record started in upon the nest of terms with the Hamilton administration and all connected with it. Before the year was over it had criticized the administration a good deal and finally used whatever influence it may have had in defeating that administration. Yet throughout that year and in the years succeeding, The Record continued upon the most friendly terms with those connected with the administration of 1895 and up to the day of its death it reckoned among its friends no better one than ex-Mayor Charles S. Hamilton.

What has this to do with Biddeford's political history?

Not much perhaps, but it has a bearing as showing the difference there is between men.

In the very earliest days of The Record a friend asked the writer—“How long do you expect to keep on good terms with Harmon?” The reply was that The Record anticipated having no trouble with Harmon, yet within three months Harmon was hardly on speaking terms with anybody connected with The Record and had even told a storekeeper with whom he traded that if he ever saw The Record in his store again he would quit trading with him.

At that time The Record's criticisms, if there had been any, had been of the mildest character. Harmon had not been personally offended. His grievance against The Record simply was that The Record had attacked the rapidly growing rum syndicate which was being harbored by the police and the sheriff.

At different periods since The Record and Harmon have been upon varying terms of relationship, sometimes quite friendly, most of the time otherwise. Harmon, like Jeff Davis and the South, only asks to be let alone. When he is, he is amiable. When he is crossed in any sort, scheme or purpose, it is different. Harmon has proved so entirely lacking in the sense of discrimination between personal criticism and official criticism that The Record long ago gave up trying to discriminate between the individual and the official.

These few words of the nature of a personal explanation may not be out of place in this review of Biddeford's political history of the years which yet remain to be covered, during which both Harmon and The Record have been more or less conspicuous.

### The 1895 Administration

The second administration of Mayor Hamilton was rather a stormy one. It was not all harmonious in the two boards of the city council. The rebuilding of City building was task enough alone for an administration. It was the occasion of lots of disagreement and Mayor Hamilton, being chairman of the building committee had to bear the greater burden of the criticism.

### Growth of The Syndicate

After the second administration of the Republicans began the development of the liquor business was very rapid. There was no longer any presence of enforcement, either by police or by county officials. The Bangor plan had been adopted. Those in the liquor business fully understood the plan. They were to pay fines twice a year and to contribute for campaign purposes when called upon and besides this they were to pay a regular monthly sum to the syndicate collector for a sort of sinking fund. The term syndicate was becoming popular in all business matters then and the rum syndicate was so named because it was a sort of closed corporation. The permits had to be obtained from the authorities and having been obtained the protection was assured. It really was not the Bangor plan, except so far as the county attorney was concerned. It was otherwise the Harmon plan, a development of the Bangor plan.

### The Good Old Days.

The 25 or 30 saloons, which were running in addition to the drug stores and two wholesale establishments were not mere holes in the wall, but fitted up with a view to permanency, some of them quite elegant with their fine bars, plate glass and other furnishings. There were no screens and

plied up, notwithstanding the enormous tax rate, until the city debt exceeded by many thousands the statutory limitation. What to do was the question. Another campaign was at hand. It would seem that the Democrats would be obliged to win.

It was such a bad mess that many of the Democrats were opposed to tackling the job of clearing it up. But that was not the chief reason why the Democrats were unwilling to make a fight.

no screen, either in dispensing the thirsty quenching liquids or in renewing the supply from the freight yards. The only disturbances were when one seller kicked because another sold bigger “schooners” of beer or cut the price of whiskey. These differences were quickly settled by police authority, as were the hours of keeping open and the issuing of special permits to do Sunday business.

The description of conditions in 1895, after all, is but a description of conditions that existed up to the fall election of 1902. Seven good years of it the syndicate had and it served its creator and master as faithfully those seven years as did Jacob of old for his wife. There were a few more places in 1903 than in 1895, but that was about all the difference.

And while we are on the subject, the description applied to condition in 1895 would not be far out of the way if applied to the present conditions.

A former deputy sheriff looked around a little yesterday to see how severe the Fogg enforcement in Biddeford was. He tells The Record that he visited eight bar rooms and three drug stores and got anything he asked for. He did not try any more.

The arrogance and boldness of the rum syndicate grew with its business. Standing solid with the police and sheriffs, as the syndicate did, it had nothing for defiance for those who protested or criticized. The rum sellers got the idea into their heads that they were the whole thing, politically, not only in Biddeford but in the whole county. So it seemed.

### The Enforcement League.

But the revolt came just the same. An agitation arose which resulted in the organization of the York County Enforcement League. The ministers, at least most of them, preached enforcement from their pulpits, a big union enforcement meeting was held at the Methodist church at which the police commissioners, Harmon and the Sheriff and his deputies were severely scored, but the syndicate and the officials continued defiant and the protests of the enforcement people were only sneered at. Then John P. Kelley, the head of the enforcement League, did some investigating and told the people all about what he had found at a big mass meeting held in Saan City hall one Sunday afternoon, naming the places and their proprietors who were violating the law openly.

That September term 86 indictments, all but about a dozen for liquor selling, were returned. They were settled and pigeonholed in the usual way. This was the term when they were supposed to pay fines under the Bangor plan.

### Syndicate Undisturbed.

The enforcement agitation was kept up during the fall but at the January term, when it was not the turn of the rum sellers to pay fines under the Bangor plan, only 10 liquor indictments were returned.

That is better by ten than the last grand jury did, in this strict era of enforcement, as you think of it.

So the rum syndicate, born with the police commission, flourished defiantly. The courts, the law, the ministers or the temperance people had no terrors for the rum sellers.

From first to last, in the past as in the present, there has only been one person or power that has had any terror for Biddeford rum sellers.

### Harmon.

His rule over them has been as absolute as it has been over the police commissioners, sheriffs and county attorneys, they all kowtow to Harmon in the end. Thompson or Fogg, Perkins or Emmons, or Mathews or Eason, Banks or Hutchinson, Ford or Tarr, they all look alike to Harmon, as do all the mavors. Harmon holds up the rum sellers and the rum sellers hold up Harmon. So it was ten years ago. So it is today.

### The Two Issues.

There were two chief issues in 1895, this rum syndicate question and the tax rate.

The tax rate had been raised from necessity on account of the loss of City building from \$1 mills to \$8 mills. At the rate of progress made upon City building in spending money it looked as though the rate might have to be raised again. Property holders were really alarmed. It was claimed that Biddeford's debt had

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

Jan. 25, 1904  
The Early Campaign of 1895--What  
Led Up to the Citizens' Move-  
ment--The Original Principles  
of That Movement.

(Continued from January 27)

As stated, while the condition of city affairs was not at all inviting and certain to be a burden to any incoming administration, this was not the real reason for the Democrats being disinclined to make a fight for the control of the city.

In spite of the conditions, in spite of the widespread dissatisfaction and alarm of property holders and taxpayers, in spite of the split that had arisen in the Republican party after two brief years of power, the Democrats did not believe that it would be possible for them to carry the city strongest petition ever secured in this city.

## The Real Reason.

They believed that Harmon with the great power of his rum syndicate which he had built up and of which he was the absolute master, with the aid of what Republicans could be relied upon to support the party ticket through thick and thin, could beat out any ticket the Democrats could name. It came to a question of a money fight, the tables were turned from two years before. The Republicans had all the sources of raising money, the Democrats had none, unless they went down to their own pockets.

It was rationally figured out that 80 of the syndicate shops, with proprietors, clerks, bartenders, truckmen and hangers-on controlled an average of ten votes each. Here were 500 votes to start with, ample boodle to buy up the flusters, a' most enough to insure election if everybody else in the city should vote the Democratic ticket.

This is why the Democrats were not inclined to make a fight. Dismali-  
shed as many Republicans were, few of them were worked up to the point that they would have voted any ticket labelled Democratic.

## A Republican Split.

The Hamilton administration had no idea of giving up the municipal reins to the dismali-  
shed Republicans who had criticised the administration. So the latter had but one recourse. This was to try and beat the Hamilton people out in caucus. It was one of the biggest, if not the biggest caucuses ever held in the city. K. W. Sutherland was the candidate against Mayor Hamilton and had following enough to have captured an ordinary caucus, but the Hamilton people were in the saddle and in anticipation of a fight had mustered the biggest force they could. There was so much feeling before the caucus that many looked for a riot, but there was nothing to cause one, for the Hamilton people were too confident of winning out. That was what they did. Hamilton received 638 votes and Sutherland 305. It was claimed that men from Saco, Goodwin Mills, Waterboro and Kennebunkport voted in the caucuses for Hamilton, but even so, he had hundreds of votes to spare.

## The Citizen Movement.

There had been considerable talk, first and last about a non-partisan combination against the Republicans. The Republicans who were dismali-  
shed with the administration gave very little encouragement to this scheme until after they had been defeated in caucus.

The result of the re-nomination of Mayor Hamilton was that it spurred all the opposition to action. The vague talk about a non-partisan movement rapidly crystallized into definite action. The very morning after the

Republican caucus the decision was reached by prominent men in both parties to run a Citizens' ticket. It did not take long to make a choice of candidates for mayor. It fell upon Carlos Heard and a petition was circulated which, headed by Robert McArthur and Hon. John M. Goodwin soon had the signatures of upward 100 of the leading citizens of Biddeford, of both parties, asking Mr. Heard to stand as candidate and he consented. This petition was further circulated and many more names secured until finally it was without doubt the strongest petition ever secured in this city.

## An Honest Movement.

The Citizens' movement at its inception was as honest a political movement as was ever organized. The men who led off in it were honest. They were making the move in self protection, as they believed. It had been too sudden and too spontaneous to admit of any scheming or any thought of a more selfish end than to save the city from bankruptcy and save property from being eaten up by taxes.

There had not even been time to definitely formulate a platform, yet the platform was understood by all. That platform could have been expressed in four words, as it was understood by those who gave their support--Economy, Honesty, Capability, Non-partisanship.

However the Citizens' movement may have failed, however speedily it began to fall, it was an honest movement at the start.

But what a fall there has been!

To surround the candidate for mayor with the ablest men who could be selected, divided as to party as evenly as possible, was the promise given Mr. Heard. That promise was kept. It was a clean, able ticket that the Citizens presented after it was fully made up.

## "Down With the Boodlers."

The Citizens did not propose to make a boodle campaign of it. Boodle campaigns do not go well with municipal economy, for the municipality in the end has to make up for the boodle spent. The Citizens had no means of raising a corruption fund. They determined at the outset that their opponents should not buy their election. They hoped by the result of that election to eliminate boodle as a political factor for years to come.

Ahain, what a fall!

Two years later this same Citizens' party made the greatest boodle fight in the city's history, except in the election of 1888. But for that campaign of 1896 the watchword was "Down with the Boodlers." It proved a good one.

## Wolf in Sheep's Clothing.

The Journal promptly set its stamp of disapproval on this Citizens' movement. There was no place in politics for non-partisan movements, it declared. It was a Republican paper and would never countenance anything but unadulterated Republicanism. If reforms were called for, the reform should be within the Republican party. The Democrats who had looted Biddeford for eleven years could not be trusted again with any voice in the management of its affairs.

Although not an ardent champion of the Hamilton administration, the Journal maintained that the alleged bankrupt condition of the city was more chargeable to the eleven years of Democratic administration than to the two years of Republican administration.

"A wolf in sheep's clothing," was the Journal's characterization of the Citizens' movement, at the outset, and is so maintained.

Its attitude was the same then as it has been all along toward the citizens' movement in Saco, as it was toward the independent movement in the country last fall.

W. A. Roberts bought the Times about the time the campaign opened and this paper was an ardent champion of the Hamilton administration and had only ridicule for the Citizens' movement.

The Record supported the Citizens' movement to the best of its ability and has no regrets. It would support another movement equally honest, whatever the label might be, in fact, it is supporting one at present, the Horgan movement, in which are enlisted many of the most honest, most energetic and most unselfish men who were the backbone of the Citizens'

movement when it started.

The Hamilton Republicans decided the Citizens' movement and pretended to have no fear of its success. They did not believe that any number of Republicans would vote the Citizens ticket.

*Biddeford Record Jan. 29, 1904*

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

The Citizens Win the Election of 1896--The Police for Once Kept Hands Off and the Reason Why.

(Continued from January 27)

in just one election since the police commission was established, municipal, state or national, have the police maintained the attitude the law provides they shall maintain in politics

is a proposition that is beyond Harmon's comprehension.

## Harmon Unbiased.

It has been claimed that there was an understanding arrived at between Candidate Heard and Harmon before that first election and that the substance of the understanding was that if Harmon kept his hands off in that election none of his schemes would be interfered with. It is more reasonable to believe that that understanding was arrived at later, when the Citizens began to play politics and entrench themselves for further elections. It is the writer's belief that up to election morning Harmon had not been definitely placed. His attitude toward Mayor Hamilton was generally known and it was further believed that he had too much at stake, even if he had been disposed, to make a fight after his usual methods against the Citizens. The Citizens were not in a temper then to brook any such interference. Prominent Citizen Republicans who had talked with Harmon brought back the assurance that he would be neutral in the election and that was as near as they came to having this powerful political factor placed when election day came. He did remain neutral, for the first, last and only time in a local election and if he did not help the Citizens he at least did not work against them.

## The Election.

There is no doubt that at heart Harmon wanted to see the Citizens' movement win. Probably he was not courageous enough to foresee how it would result, any more than anybody else could at that time have foreseen that the movement was to work out to the advantage of Harmon's scheme of dictatorship. But it did. Under straight party administration Harmon could not have lasted as long as he has. That is apparent enough from the number of men who have driven out from their old party. The Citizens movement has proved most useful to him for he has been able to make good these Republican losses by Democrats, not only in municipal elections but in state and county elections.

In the last year of the Hamilton administration Harmon and Mayor Hamilton had had numerous disagreements. Whatever else may be said of Mayor Hamilton it cannot be denied that he was a man of a good deal of spirit and pluck and while, in his office as police commissioner, he had not attempted to interfere in Harmon's pot schemes, he had put his foot down firmly on several occasions against Harmon's dictates as to how the mayor's office should be run.

These disagreements had become to be more and more frequent and some of the tilts between those two officials had been very sharp. They were not, as all on friendly terms when the campaign of 1896 opened and Harmon was believed to have worked against the re-nomination of Mayor Hamilton secretly, if not openly. After Mayor Hamilton had carried the caucuses it left Harmon in rather

## A Delicate Position.

He could foresee a lot of trouble if Mayor Hamilton was reelected. Probably he could not exactly see his own way clear if the Citizens' movement was successful, as active in that movement were some of his old Democratic enemies, men who had every reason to hate him. The high sounding principles of the Citizens' party could not have appealed very strongly to Harmon. The watchword, "Down With the Boodlers" must have seemed childish to him, for the writer remembers that election morning he spoke with Harmon in the room then being used for a court room in Union block, about the prospects.

"Have they got any money?" was Harmon's query, meaning the Citizens. Upon being told that they claimed that they were not going to use any money themselves or allow the other side to use any Harmon expressed grave doubts about the Citizens' being able to win.

Successful politics without money

## Do You Recognize It?

The result of election occasioned general rejoicing. Congratulations were lavish. Biddeford was henceforth to have non-partisan rule. Honesty and business in place of graft and extravagance. The era of boodle in Biddeford politics had been ended. Never again would the election be an action race. All the principles were to be lived up to rigidly, etc., etc.

That was how it was talked after the 1896 election.

Do you recognize this party of lofty principles and pure politics in the party that two years later fought the Stone-Kendall campaign, that a year ago spent thousands to gain a majority of 27 over Corailes Bergins, that rules this year, and makes no secret of it, upon overrunning the wholesale levels against the Citizens-Harmon-Industrial League combination.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

The First Citizens' Administration  
The All-the-Year-Arounds and  
Half and Halfs and Some  
Hot Caucuses.

Jan. 30-1904

(Continued From January 29.)

For all the Journal and Times had opposed the Citizens' party so strongly, they had a lot of advice to give after the election was over. They had the nerve to suggest that a number of the old city officials should be retained, but the demand of those who had supported the Citizens' movement was for a clean sweep. The only exception made was in the case of City Treasurer Moody who was reelected.

The new administration sat through the most troublesome part, that of filling the offices, very well and there was not much dissatisfaction expressed. The city council got down to business early and the members of the upper board seemed disposed to carry out all pledges in the way of an economical, businesslike administration. Alderman Campbell made it interesting at all of the meetings and seemed bent upon embarrassing the other members of the board all he could.

Who, who remembers Alderman Campbell as he was that first year, would ever have supposed that he would have come around to be one of the leaders in the Citizens' party and be given the most important office under the administration?

Early Symptoms.

But the administration had not become to be very old before there were symptoms of graft. These grew so marked later on that Alderman Murphy was constrained to introduce an order providing that none of the municipal officers should furnish any supplies to the city. That order was not popular and it did not pass. A number of members of the board were doing pretty well out of the city's trade, particularly Mayor Heard and they did not care to "fix" a good thing. There were some very sharp controversies during the first year of the Citizens' administration and no doubt upon several occasions Mayor Heard felt that he was earning his salary. The administration made a good showing financially in its first year and cut off a big slice of the city's debt. There was no reason why it should not have been able to with the same tax rate that Mayor Hamilton had had and every copper turned over and looked at before it was spent. A closing exhibition of the desire for graft was when Alderman Gooch voted himself a liberal salary for services on the committee on accounts after all the pedges and provisions that all members of the city council should receive any money for his services.

Other Politics.

But there were a lot of other politics during that year not connected with the Citizens' movement directly.

It was early apparent, as it has been for the eight years since, that there was a perfect understanding between Harmon and the Citizens leaders by which he and his rum syndicate were safe from interference. Mayor Heard, as police commissioner, was an congenial to Harmon as any man could have been. There was never any friction between them. Harmon became to be more of a political czar under the Citizens rule than he had been under Republican rule and it consequences more distasteful to many who had voted the Citizens' ticket in the hope and expectation that a non-partisan municipal administration would result in a non-partisan police administration.

These Republicans who had opposed

the Citizens' movement organized a club and called themselves the All-the-Year-Arounds. The Citizen Republicans were styled the Half-and-Halves. The feeling between the two factions became to be very bitter. The All-the-Year-Arounds were after Harmon's scalp and they secured a place of it early when they petitioned Sheriff Hard to take away his commission as deputy sheriff because he had made himself obnoxious politically. Sheriff Hard did this, but no protest that could be made received any attention from the police commissioners. In the course of the year Police Commissioner Ford died and James F. Tarr was appointed in his place. J. Byron Campbell was the candidate of the All-the-Year-Arounds and this was quite a hot fight. The push was behind Tarr, however, and he landed, and since he has held the office he has always done just what Harmon has told him to do and has therefore been entirely satisfactory to Harmon.

Two Hot Caucuses.

A hot fight was on early in the summer for delegates to the county convention. Harmon and the Citizen Republicans were after Sheriff Hard's scalp and though he had served but one year it was proposed to drop him and Usher B. Thompson of Newfield was put forth as his opponent. The All-the-Year-Arounds were for Hard. It was a bitter fight. At the caucuses in City hall, the first that the new Opera house had seen, it looked like a riot for a time and all kind of trickery was resorted to to beat out the All-the-Year-Arounds, and the most active man in the fight was the non-partisan chief of police, who distributed ballots, and bulldozed about everybody who was not on his side. This fight for the sheriff's nomination spread to Saco and the caucuses then did wind up in a fight. The Hard men had no show against the county machine, for, at the behest of Moses, Harmon and Prescott the county leaders dropped Hard and pushed Thompson. In Biddeford there was a regular campaign held before the caucuses and Hon. J. O. Bradbury made a speech in which he vigorously denounced Harmon and his bulldozing and the rule of the rum syndicate. But the All-the-Year-Arounds were short on votes and the Biddeford caucuses chose Thompson delegates by a vote of 518 to 218.

The Next Spring.

The opposition to the Citizens' movement went to work to make a fight against Heard, who had been nominated again according to the understanding that each candidate should have two terms. The two anti-Citizen candidates in the Republicans caucuses were Col. L. H. Kendall and R. H. Igersoll. Col. Kendall carried the caucuses. There was an extremely hot, ward caucuses held in Harmon's ward that spring. The non-partisan city marshal and non-partisan Police Commissioner Tarr ran the caucuses with a high hand, beating out Alderman Campbell for renomination and nominating Police Officer Fred L. Goodwin instead. Harmon was got even with Campbell for aspiring to be police commissioner against his will. Campbell was not at the time but he got over it and is now one of Harmon's closest political friends and his trusted lieutenant in ward 8.

Harmon knows how to handle them, all right, all right.

Mr. Campbell is only one of many illustrations.

Harmon's activity in politics resulted in a petition which received a good many signatures, mostly of Republicans, asking that the police commission be abolished. The election of 1897 resulted in a walkover for the Citizens, Heard beating Kendall by 879 majority.

Bottling Company Raid.

An incident of that spring which should not be passed over was the raid on the Biddeford Bottling company by City Marshal Burns of Saco. The authority of constables had been snared the old fashioned way, will be remembered, when the office of constable had been abolished. In these two cities, so Marshal Burns had jurisdiction to make that seizure. He carried out his raid, took all of beer. It was his intention all the sheriff's attention to Saco while Biddeford was running wide open.

That set off another petition to the legislature which resulted in the city marshal also being stripped of the office of constable. Then it certainly seemed that Harmon's rum syndicate was safe.

# MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

The Administration of 1897--Police Officer Removed for Seizing Liquor-Levi W. Stone Elected by Only 25 Majority.

Jan. 30-1904

(Continued From January 29.)

The second year of the Citizens was rather a quiet one politically though there were some highly interesting sessions of the board of mayor and aldermen. Mayor Heard had got rid of troublesome Alderman Campbell, but both Aldermen Murphy and Gooch developed refractory conduct and opposed the mayor upon many questions. Some of the titles in the upper board that year were as sharp as any ever heard between members of rival parties. The exchanges were by no means complimentary. Alderman Murphy made some very pointed observations about the mayor's conduct and schemes and one day when Alderman Gooch got real mad he accused Mayor Heard of practicing "dirty and contemptible tricks."

It could not have been a very happy year for Mayor Heard.

The Water Question.

The valuation of the water company's plant was taken up, that year and there was a good deal of discussion upon this question and some of the members of the city council made grandstand plays, but when the year ended practically no progress had been made and this question went down to the next administration and was hashed and thrashed a year or more, longer. This was the chief topic during Mayor Heard's second year and the discussion has developed some far reaching inquiries into matters of corporation taxation. In fact, the discussion became rather uncomfortable at times for those who did not care to have these matters probed so deeply.

The Electric Road Permit.

That year the municipal officers did something which it seemed would put an end to Citizen rule in Biddeford. It did not seem that any party could survive such an outrage and disappointment as was put upon the public.

The action referred to was the refusal of the municipal officers to let the Saco Valley road into Biddeford. However mythical this electric road which has been so many times promised in the last six years may now seem there is no reason to doubt that if the permit asked of Biddeford had been granted the road would have been built at once. Every business man on the street, and for that matter in town wanted the new road to come in, except those interested in the Biddeford and Saco road. The opposition came from the old road and Mayor Heard and Alderman Gooch were stockholders in the old road. They handled the other members of the board and in spite of positions, public meetings and every other form of demand for the road the municipal officers voted against the permit. A great howl went up from the public and dire threats were made as to what would be done at the next spring election.

The power of "pal" was shown a short time later when the local road and the Atlantic shore line and the Pool road were granted any kind of permits they wanted without discussion.

These seven Citizen aldermen and Mayor Heard instead of serving their constituents and voting for their own benefit and the benefit of the city, sacrificed everything for the selfish interests of the owners of the old road. It was commonly predicted that this would be the death of the Citizens' movement, but it was not.

Happy Days For Syndicates.

The two Heard administrations were happy days for Harmon and the rum syndicate. They could not have asked for plainer sailing. The Enforcement League still had spasms at irregular intervals but with constables out of the way, police and sheriffs "fixed", the talk of the Enforcement League people did not bother the syndicate. Having got things entirely to their liking in Biddeford some of the Republican leaders invaded Saco to build up a rum syndicate there and recapture that city from the wicked Democrats. With something like 75 or 100 rumschops doing a wide open business in Biddeford, Sheriff Thompson and his deputies began nosing around in Saco hammering away at two places in that city which were selling rum to teach them fear, not of the law but of the Republican bosses. Sheriff Thompson's Sunday closing square will be recalled. How Mayor Lord of Saco met his bluff and made him ridiculous before the whole country is also well remembered. The

plans of Harmonizing and Thompsonizing Saco did not mature then.

A Policeman's Crime.

An illustration of the security of Biddeford rumsheds is here given.

Thomas Doyle was a regularly appointed police officer. Though he only did special duty occasionally under the police commission law he had all the authority of any officer and wore a policeman's badge.

One day Doyle took it into his head to seize some syndicate beer and whiskey and raided a couple of syndicate shops that the sheriff or policemen would have no more have dared to invade than they would have dared to rob a bank.

We have had murders and various other crimes since the state police took charge but nothing ever caused such activity and energy in police circles as that seizure by Doyle.

He was promptly and roughly arrested by the police and thrown into a cell in the police station and not even his brother was allowed to see him several for hours. As soon as the police grabbed their reckless brother the syndicate bartenders came out and unloaded the seized liquor from the team Doyle had pressed into service and it was restored to the saloons from which it had been taken.

Doyle was found guilty upon the charge of drunkenness and fined and as further punishment he was removed by the commissioners from the police force.

Two men have been removed from the state police force by the state police commissioners upon charges.

The offence of one of them was that he seized syndicate rum.

The offence of the other was that he played poker for a cigar one day when off duty.

Other Matters.

No indictments were returned at the May term of court but at the September term '98 were reported nearly all against liquor selling, each of whom paid his fine of \$100 as cheerfully as he paid his assessment to a syndicate collector.

During this year Harmon had still another suit for false arrest brought against him. An aged Portland man had been thrown into jail by Harmon who claimed he was drunk. The old man's real offence appeared to have been that he was seen by Harmon talking on the street with Denis O'Connor. To aggravate the latter was probably the chief purpose of the arrest.

The great strike of the winter of 1898 tended to keep politics in the background and it was expected that the strike would have an important bearing on the spring election. It was settled before election however, which was undoubtedly fortunate for continuation of the Citizens' party, with which the influence of the corporation had so much to do.

The Journal Flows.

There were three candidates in the field for the next election. Under the Citizens' agreement it was the Republicans' turn to have the mayor and Levi W. Stone was the selection. Col. L. H. Kendall was again the candidate of the All-the-Year-Arounds and independents.

As soon as the nominations were made the Journal announced that it had overcome its scruples against the Citizens' movement and that it should support Stone. The Journal never did take kindly to Col. Kendall. In the previous campaign the Journal had taken no part. In the first Citizens' campaign it had pretended to support Hamilton and as has been stated had

derided the Citizens' movement as a wolf in sheep's clothing.

But it could not be expected that the Journal would long stand out against a movement which was so agreeable to Harmon and so considerable of the Republican rum syndicate. Then, inasmuch as the owner of the Journal was also the heaviest owner in the electric road, a debt of gratitude was owed the Citizens' party, while Col. Kendall was running on a straight pledge to let the new road into the city if he was elected. And moreover the Journal's opposition to the Citizens' party had been softened by a liberal allowance of the city printing, about all of it in fact, Mayor Heard having scored on The Record about six months after his first election. So it will be seen that there was nothing strange in the Journal's sudden conversion to the beauties of a non-partisan administration.

A Close Election.

The third candidate was Frank J. Smith. He had been a strong supporter of the strikers and had been urged by some of them to run. Others urged him not to run, so that the vote in opposition to the Citizens would not be divided. But he ran, up to noon time, when he pulled out and tried to throw his support to Col. Kendall. Stone was elected by a plurality of 21. Smith received 187 votes, all of which would doubtless have gone to Kendall had there been but two candidates. This would have cut Stone's plurality to 25 and it is not unlikely that this split in the opposition vote was all that saved the Citizens from defeat that year, for the vote was very light and a little work might have carried the day for Kendall.



## MUNICIPAL POLITICS OF 15 YEARS REVIEWED.

**Biddeford's Political History is  
Brought Briefly Up to the Present  
and Concluded--The Lesson of  
the Review.**

(Continued From February 3.)

Mayor Walker's administration was quite uneventful politically. From an economic standpoint it was unquestionably a strong one. Greater reduction was made in the city debt than under any other administration and, as the city government was entirely of one faith there was little friction. In fact, Mayor Walker had a faculty of getting along with the other members of the city council that neither Mayor Heard nor Stone had.

In his relations with Harmon, from all appearance Mayor Walker was as congenial as other Citizen mayors had been. There was at least nothing that came up in the police department that vexed Harmon. Charges of a most serious nature in which there were no politics were made against Police Officer Martin. The police commissioners considered the matter but it was passed over. Just two months from the day the charges were filed against Martin, Harmon preferred charges against Leonard Andrews, who had been restored to his position on the police force by order of the supreme court. Of course Harmon had no work for Andrews to do, but he was bound to have his way and so he charged him with playing pitch for a five cent cigar and the police commissioners sat solemnly for two days upon this case, a public hearing being held, and finally voted unanimously to dismiss Andrews from the force.

### Captured by the League.

It would have seemed that Harmon's grip on the Citizens' party was strong enough but it did not satisfy him. That spring he worked the Industrial League into the Citizens' annual meeting and captured the organization. It is hardly necessary to state that the grip has held good. For the last four years Harmon and the Industrial League has dominated the Citizens' movement. Nobody will deny this, not even Citizens who still regard themselves as leaders to a degree. The outgrowth of this absorption of the Citizens' movement by the League was the present City hall clique of office holders which have held their job four years and will hold them four years longer if the same party remains in control.

Another development of this administration was the introduction of politics into the fire department to an extent never equalled under any partisan administration. Since then the fire department has been one of the most important parts of the Industrial League machinery.

### Fogg-Andrews Fight.

Perhaps the most interesting political development of the year was the contest for the Republican nomination of sheriff between Simon S. Andrews and Newall T. Fogg. Biddeford politicians had that nomination all buttoned up tight, to let them tell it, but there was a different story to tell after the convention was over. Mr. Fogg won out in what was probably as hot and tricky a fight as ever arose within the ranks of any political party in Maine. It was a bad disappointment to the League. It showed

situation. The whole issue of the election now little more than a month away as Harmonism.

If this review of past history has aided in making plain what Harmonism means, then it has accomplished its purpose.

### Recent Years.

Mayor Walker was reelected with opposition for a second term, receiving 557 votes, which were all that were cast. His second year's administration was but a continuation of the first, a good showing in debt reduction and no friction, either with Harmon or anybody else.

The remaining political history of Biddeford is too recent and too fresh to review. The record of the Gooch administrations with the hold over officers, the absolute domination of Harmon in all matters relating to the city affairs, the small pox steal, the independent movement throughout the county against the Biddeford rooming which came so near resulting in the defeat of the Republican candidate for sheriff, the close call from defeat that the Citizens' party had a year ago, the pitiful predicament that they are now in, unable to find a candidate after a month's work to find one, constitute a chain of events which lead up to the present and the live issues of the present day rather than history that belongs to the political past have first claim on attention.

### In Conclusion.

To the many who have followed this review of local politics and it has been followed by more readers and with more interest than had been anticipated, there must have appeared one overshadowing figure, never out of sight, dominating local politics, swaying all parties for this own ends, compelling all parties to adopt his own disreputable methods.

The political history of Biddeford has been the history of Charles B. Harmon.

We find him as a Democrat, the central figure and the commonly accredited instigator of the notorious repeater incident. We find him a few years later as a Republican, the instigator of the police commission outrage. A little later, as the father and protector of the notorious rooming syndicate, a little later, as a Citizen, the originator and uncrowned king of the infamous Industrial League.

We have seen the methods and weapons he has used to accomplish his ends. We have seen him make the leading men of all parties in this city, as well as the slaves and criminals, crawl upon their knees and do his bidding. His enemies of yesterday have been made his tools of today. Harmon has an army of slaves but no friends. He has more use for slaves than for friends. The slaves do his bidding. His friends cease to be friends when they refuse to do his bidding.

It has brought us up to the present



